A FIRST LOOK AT MANKIYALI MORPHOLOGY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Language		Term	Gloss
Arabic	Ar	First Person	1
Burushaski	Bsk	Second Person	2
English	Eng	Third Person	3
Gujarati	G	Ablative	ABL
Hindi	H	Accusative	ACC
Hindko	Hnk	Benefactive	BEN
Kashmiri	K	Dative	DAT
Kalasha	Ksh	Direct	DIR
Khowar	Kho	Distal	DIST
Kohistani, Unspec.	Koh	Ergative	ERG
Kohistani, Indus	Koh.Ind	Future	FUT
Mankiyali	Mnk	Genitive	GEN
Middle Indo-Aryan	MIA	Feminine	F
New Indo-Aryan	NIA	Imperative	IMP
Old Indo-Aryan	OIA	Imperfect	IMPF
Pahari, Western	Pah.W	Indefinite	INDEF
Pashto	Psh	Indicative	IND
Punjabi	P	Infinitive	INF
Sanskrit	S	Instrumental	INSTR
Shina, Unspecified	Sh	Invisible	INV
Shina, Kohistani	Sh.Koh	Masculine	M
Torwali	Tor	Nominative	NOM
Urdu	U	Oblique	OBL
		Participle	PTCP
		Particle	PTCL
		Past	PST
		Perfect	PRF
		Plural	PL
		Present	PRS
		Preterit	PRET
		Proximal	PROX
		Semblative	SEMBL
		Singular	SG
		Subjunctive	SUBJ
		Vocative	VOC

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a core distinction between language documentation and description,

outlined by Himmelmann (1998), but there is still a "bilateral mutual dependency" regarding

the relationship between language documentation and description and that the provision of

data supporting the description is critical to any successful descriptive work (Gawne &

Berez-Kroeker, 2018, p. 22). With up to 90% of languages currently spoken estimated to

disappear without intervention by the end of the 21st century, it is critical that documentary

and descriptive works continue to be undertaken in order to benefit the speech

communities of languages that are at-risk (Linn, 2018, p. 72). This thesis is primarily a

descriptive endeavor, with a secondary comparative component in order to provide context

for a number of phenomena that are unattested or incongruous with patterns observed in

contact languages. This is an initial description of the inflectional morphology of the

Mankiyali language; this thesis provides an analysis of data collected as part of the

documentary effort that may be incorporated into future research, both morphological and

in other domains, with implications for both the ongoing descriptive, documentary, and

preservatory work on Mankiyali.

1.1 On Mankiyali

The Mankiyali language (ISO:693-3 nlm)[1] is an Indo-Aryan language variety spoken

by a community that resides primarily within two villages: Danna and Dameka.[2] Both are

situated approximately 90 kilometers North by West of Islamabad and administered as a

part of Bandi Shungli Municipality (Figure 11) within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Oghi Tehsil in

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[1] (International Organization for Standardization, 2017)
[2] 34°28'42"N, 72°57'14"E

Mansehra District (Figure 10).[3] The overall population of Mankiyali speakers is estimated at around 500 individuals, with more than 300 in Danna, fewer than 50 in Dameka, and additional speakers living in urban areas of Pakistan (Figure 8), especially Lahore, Islamabad, and Karachi. The Mankiyali community is experiencing significant language shift towards Hindko, a lingua franca of Hazara Division,[4] with all L1 speakers of Mankiyali bilingual in Hindko. Additionally, members of the Mankiyali language community are often proficient in a number of other languages, including Pashto (an additional official language of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province) as well as Urdu and English, both official languages at the national level.

The Mankiyali language is of uncertain affiliation within the context of Indo-Aryan languages. At present, the body of literature on Mankiyali is limited, but growing. In 2015, a sociolinguistic survey of the community was published (Anjum & Rehman, 2015). Subsequently, Anjum's (2016) dissertation provided additional context regarding language shift experienced by the community. Subsequently, Paramore's (2020) thesis provides a comprehensive overview of Mankiyali phonology, including the phonemic inventory, phonotactic constraints in Mankiyali, and prosodic phenomena. This followed an illustration of the phonemic inventory of the language, with a focus on use of the International Phonetic Alphabet in transcription (Munshi & Englert, in press).

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[3] U: بانڈی شُنگلی. Romanization is inconsistent. The former National Reconstruction Bureau published the name as Badi Shungli. The Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2017, p. 32) romanizes as "Bandi".
[4] 57% of Hazara Division respondents to the 2017 census list Hindko as their mother tongue; 20% of respondents are Pashto-speakers. As a whole, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is 11% Hindko speakers, 77% Pashto speakers (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

1.1.1 Phonology

Mankiyali phonology is largely typical of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, with a number of

distinguishing characteristics. Primarily, while stress is not phonemic (Paramore, 2020), the

OIA series of voiced aspirated consonant phonemes /gʰ/ /ɉʰ/ /ḍʰ/ /dʰ/ /bʰ/ has given way to

a system of tonal contrast. Additionally, OIA /č/ has developed into /c/, as in Kashmiri

(Munshi, 2006), however unlike in Kashmiri wherein OIA /čʰ/ developed into /cʰ/, this

phoneme has instead lenited to /s/ in Mankiyali, as outlined in Table 1, below.

Table 1: Historic Sound Changes in Mankiyali

Gloss	OIA	MIA	Kashmiri	Mankiyali
'skin'	čarman	čamma	cam	camaṛa
'four'	čatvarah	čayaari	coor	coor
'calf'	vatsa[5]	vačʰa	vocʰ	basa

The phonotactics of tone in Mankiyali are predictable enough that overt marking of

tone contour is unnecessary. The distinction in tone bears an extremely low functional load,

but is nevertheless phonemic, with a number of minimal pairs documented (Munshi &

Englert, in press). Tonal sandhi is predictable, with two adjacent marked tones following a

HL.LH pattern, otherwise resulting in a L.LH pattern when preceded by an unmarked

syllable.

1.1.2 The Lexicon

The vast majority of nouns in the Mankiyali lexicon are of Old Indo-Aryan origin.

Additionally, intense and sustained language contact has resulted in a number of words

being borrowed from Persian—possibly via Urdu—as well as Hindko and English. A number

of these, such as *mosaafar* 'traveller' have ultimate origins in Arabic (cf. √s-f-r 'travelling';

/musaafir(-un)/[6] 'traveller(-NOM.INDEF)'). Table 2, below, provides a selection of nouns

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[5] /c/ was not phonemic in OIA.

[6] Ar. ﴾مُسَافِرٌ﴿

inherited from Middle Indic with their attested forms in OIA. Unless otherwise indicated, the following MIA forms are sourced from Turner (1962: 93; 157; 252; 511; 531; 568)

Table 2: Mankiyali Lexical Items inherited from OIA

OIA	MIA	Mankiyali	Gloss
paaṇiya	paaniiya[7]	paaṇi	'water'
martya	mačča	muš	'man'
pʰulla	pʰulla	ful	'flower'
bʰaginii	bʰagiṇii	pééṇ	'sister'
kaala	kaalaa	kaalaa	'black'
čandra	čãda	can	'moon'

Table 3 demonstrates a selection of lexical items borrowed into the lexicon.

Table 3: Lexical Borrowing in Mankiyali

Origin	Mankiyali	Gloss	Source Language
frypan	f(a)rifan	'frying pan'	English
bʰaaluu	baaluu	'bear'	Urdu
aabšaar[8]	abšaar	'waterfall'	Persian
qisma(t)[9]	kismaat	'fate'	Arabic
dariya[10]	dariya	'river'	Urdu
fridge	frɪǰ	'refrigerator'	English

1.1.3 Typology

From a morphosyntactic perspective, Mankiyali is a largely typical Indo-Aryan language: there is a greater tendency towards fusional inflection and derivation than agglutinative inflection, but this is not without exceptions: in particular, the dative suffix is notably agglutinative, with the noun it modifies often immediately separable into constituent components.

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[7] (Bashir & Conners, 2019: 93)

[8] Pers. ⟨آبشار⟩

[9] Ar. *qisma(-tun)* ⟨قِسمَةٌ⟩ via Pers. *kesmæt* ⟨قسمت⟩

[10] Pers. *dæryaa* ⟨دریَا⟩ 'sea, ocean'

Basic word order is Subject–Object–Verb; exceptions to SOV word order are marked in Mankiyali, with a number of pragmatic motivations behind alternations in word order, as is common both within Indo-Aryan languages and a dominant areal feature. Additionally, adpositions are exclusively postpostitional in nature.

1.1.3.1 The Noun Phrase

The Mankiyali noun phrase is broadly consistent with the patterns attested in other Indo-Aryan languages. Mankiyali nouns have inherent grammatical gender (i.e., either masculine or feminine) and they decline for case. They may additionally be marked for indefiniteness, taking the cardinal numeral *yak* 'one' as an indefinite marker. Nouns are distinguished from adjectives both semantically and morphologically, with adjectives restricted to declining for solely the direct, oblique, ergative and vocative cases.

Aside from nouns proper, the noun phrase in Mankiyali may optionally include a determiner and an adjective as illustrated in Example 1. Determiners available in Mankiyali include *yak* 'one', *xašɪ* 'some' used for mass nouns, and *ki* 'some' used for plural count nouns. Additionally, Figures 1 and 2 provide tree diagrams for these noun phrases using X-Bar Theory.

1. The Mankiyali Noun Phrase

a.   *zaandaak*
        zaandaak   -Ø
        boy   -DIR.M.SG
        'a/the boy'

b.   *yak zaandaak*
        yak   zaandaak -Ø
        one   boy   -DIR.M.SG
        'a boy'[11]

c.   *yak nika zaandaak*
        yak   nik   -a   zaandaak   -Ø
        one   small - DIR.M.SG boy   -DIR.M.SG
        'a small boy'

Figure 1: Tree Diagram of the Mankiyali Noun Phrase with a Determiner

```
        NP
       /  \
      D    N
    yak  zaandaak
       'a boy'
```
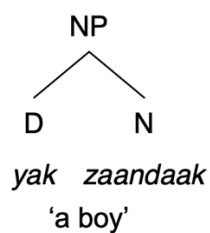
Figure 2: Tree Diagram of the Mankiyali Noun Phrase with an Adjective

```
          NP
         /  \
        D    N'
      yak   /  \
         AdjP   N
          |  zaandaak
         Adj
         nika
        'a small boy'
```

---
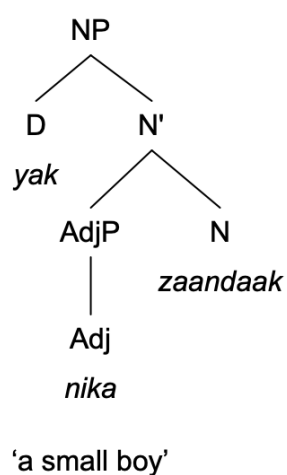
[11] Also 'one boy', emphatic, as opposed to two boys

1.6.1.1 Ergativity

According to Comrie (1978: 350), describing a language as either ergative or nominative-accusative as though the two are in opposition to one another is misleading, in that a given language likely displays characteristics of both alignments. Below is a definition of ergativity provided by Comrie in *Ergativity*:

> Ergativity is a term used in traditional descriptive and typological linguistics to refer to a system of nominal case-marking where the subject of an intransitive verb has the same morphological marker as a direct object, and a different morphological marker from the subject of a transitive verb. (Comrie, 1978: 329)

In Mankiyali, there are three primary systems of alignment, which is conditioned by the use of the perfect aspect, i.e., split ergativity. In the imperfect aspect the morphosyntactic alignment of a given phrase is invariably nominative-accusative. Thus, in the imperfect, the subject of an intransitive verb is marked in the direct case, with the verb agreeing with the subject. Similarly, in transitive clauses, the agent of an imperfect transitive verb is marked in the direct case, while the patient of the transitive verb may be marked either in the direct in the dative based on pragmatic considerations. In the perfect aspect, there are two systems of alignment in use: an ergative–absolutive and tripartite marking. [12] In the former, the agent of a transitive verb is marked in the ergative, with the patient of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb marked in the direct case, while in the latter, the dative marks the patient of a transitive verb with an ergative subject.

This system of ergative marking is a hallmark of Indo-Aryan languages, though the specifics of expression vary between languages. Notably, valency appears to be less of a motivator in Mankiyali than it is in other Indo-Aryan languages, with valency and transitivity

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[12] Referred to as 'identified object marking' by Masica (1981), 'differential object marking' by others, including Montaut (2018). While salient in the language, the motivation for use is mostly pragmatic and beyond the scope of this thesis.

effectively synonymous in this language. Example 2, below, demonstrates that ergative

marking is possible in Hindi/Urdu in order to express volition in conjunction with a small

number of intransitive verbs (Butt, 2001: 122; Bjorkman, 2018), but this is not a structure

that is available in Mankiyali, as illustrated in 2.d.

2. Hindi/Urdu Split Intransitivity

a. राम खँसा   رام کھانسا

```
raam      -Ø     kʰãs        -aa                                    [H/U]
Ram       -DIR   cough       -PERF.M.SG
'Ram coughed'
```

b. *Raam kʰaŋgu*
```
raam   -Ø    kʰaŋg        -u                                       [Mnk]
Ram    -DIR  cough.PRET   -M.SG
'Ram coughed (purposefully or not)'
```

c. राम ने खँसा   رام نے کھانسا

```
raam      -Ø     nee   kʰãs       -aa                              [H/U]
Ram       -OBL   ERG   cough      -PERF.M.SG
'Ram coughed (purposefully)'
```

d. *Rami kʰaŋgu*
```
*ram    -i    kʰaŋg        -u                                      [Mnk]
*Ram    -ERG  cough.PRET   -M.SG
*'Ram coughed (purposefully)'
```
Hindi/Urdu adapted from Butt (2001: 122)

    With regards to ergative marking, the Mankiyali system of split ergativity has

significant differences from the systems observed in other Indo-Aryan languages,

particularly those in the Western zone and Lahnda subgroup of the North-western Indo-

Aryan zone as described by Khokhlova and demonstrated in Example 3 (2016: 180-183).

Western Indo-Aryan languages employ the instrumental in ergative marking, as

demonstrated in 3.a, and North-western languages vary in ergative marking.

3. Morphological Ergative Marking in Gujarati

a. રાજા એ શત્રુ ને તલવાર એ કાપી નાંખ્યો.

raaǰaa e šatru ne talvaar e kaapii nããk^hyo							[G]
raaǰaa	e	šatru	ne	talvaar	e	kaap	-ii	nããk^hyo
Raja	INS	enemy	ACC	sword	INS	hit	-ABS	throw.PP.M.SG

'Raja hit the enemy with a sword'

b. *Raaǰi dužvaṇaz tɪlvaaraĩ maar ɣalu*

| raaǰ | -i | dužvaṇ | -a | -z | tɪlvaar | -a | -ĩ | maar | ɣal | -u | [Mnk] |
| Raja | -ERG | enemy | -OBL | -DAT | sword | -OBL | -ABL | hit | AUX | -M.SG | |

'Raja hit the enemy with a sword'

Gujarati example adapted from Khokhlova (2016)

Ergative marking in Mankiyali is notably distinct from methods of ergative marking in Punjabi and Hindko, which use the oblique (pro)noun to mark ergativity, and for some speakers, the ergative postposition *ne* may optionally be employed (Bashir & Conners, 2019, pp. 244–246). As demonstrated below in Examples 4.i , despite the differences in syntax, the attested system of ergative marking most closely resembling that of Mankiyali is Kashmiri.

4. 'I ate a meal' Cross-Linguistic Comparison

a. میں روٹی کھادی

| mẽ | roṭi | k^háá | -d | -i | [Hnk] |
| 1SG.OBL | bread.F.SG.DIR | eat | -PERF | -F.SG | |

'I ate bread/a meal.'

b. मे ख्यव ख्यन   ے کھیَو کھین
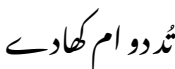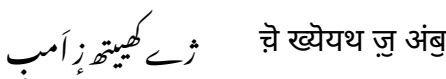
| mɛ | k^hy | -av | k^hyan | [K] |
| 1SG.ERG | eat | -3SG.M | food.M.DIR | |

'I ate a meal'

c. *mi pɪɪḍ k^havu*

| mi | pɪɪḍ | k^ha | -vu | [Mnk] |
| 1SG.ERG | food.m.DIR | eat.PRET | -M.SG | |

'I ate a meal'

4.i 'You ate two mangoes' Cross-Linguistic Comparison

a. تُد دو ام کھادے

tud	do	am	kʰáá	-d	-ee		[Hnk]
2sg.obl	two	mango.M.PL	eat	-PERF	-M.PL		

'You ate two mangoes'

b. چے کھیتھ زِ اَمبِ ‎ ਚ੍ਹੇ ਖ੍ਯੇਯਥ ਜ਼ੁ ਅੰਬੁ

ce	kʰy	-eyatʰ	zɨ	ãmb	-ɨ	[K]
2SG.ERG	eat	-2PL.M.PRET	two.DIR	mango	-DIR.M.PL	

'You ate two mangoes'

c. *ti du ama kʰɪvee*

ti	du	am	-a	kʰɪ	-vee	[Mnk]
2SG.ERG	two	mango	-DIR.M.PL	eat.PRET	-M.PL	

'You ate two mangoes'

4.ii 'I ate two mangoes' Cross-Linguistic Comparison

a. ਮੈਂ ਦੋ ਅੰਬ ਖਾਧੇ ‎ میں دو امب کھادے

mæ̃	do	amb	kʰáá	-d	-e	[P]
1SG.OBL	two	mango.M.PL	eat	-PERF	-M.PL	

'I ate two mangoes'

b. مے کھییہ زِ اَمبِ ‎ ਮੇ ਖ੍ਯੇਯਿ ਜ਼ੁ ਅੰਬੁ

me	kʰy	-eyi	zɨ	ãmb	-ɨ	[K]
1SG.ERG	eat	-1PL.M.PRET	two.DIR	mango	-DIR.M.PL	

'I ate two mangoes'

c. *mi du ama kʰɪvee*

mi	do	aam	kʰɪ	ɣal	-ʋɪ	[Mnk]
1SG.ERG	two.DIR	mango.M.PL	eat	AUX.PST.PERF	-M.PL	

'I ate two mangoes'

4.iii 'He/she did a task for me' Cross-Linguistic Comparison

a.   ੳਹ ਨੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ   اوہ نے میرا کم کر دتا

ó	=ne	mer	-aa	kamm	kar	di	-tt	-aa	[P]
3SG.OBL	=ERG	1SG.GEN	-M.SG.DIR	work.M.SG	do	give	-PERF	-M.SG	

'He/she did my work [i.e., did a task for me].'

b.   تمی نیہ میأنی کأم کرِتھ   तंम्य निथि म्यान्य काम करिथ

təmʸ	ni	-yi	mʸəənʸ	kəəm	kər	-itʰ			[K]
3SG.INVIS.ERG	take	-PST.F.SG	1SG.GEN.F.SG	work.F.SG	do	-3SG.PST			

'He/she did my work [i.e., did a task for me].'

c.   *ti mɪɳa kaam kar ɣalu*

ti	mɪɳ	-a	kaam	kar	ɣal	-u	[Mnk]
3SG.INVIS.ERG	1SG.GEN	-M.SG.DIR	work M.SG	do	AUX.PERF.PST	-M.SG	

'He/she did my work [i.e., did a task for me].'

Hindko and Punjabi adapted from Bashir & Conners (2019: 432–433)

Triggers for ergative marking in Mankiyali additionally differ between those seen in other Indo-Aryan languages. The absence of a morphologically expressed future perfect in Mankiyali restricts ergative marking to the realm of past perfect statements.

1.6.1.2 Dative Subjects

The dative subject is a frequent feature in Indo-European languages, and is notably prominent in Indo-Aryan languages specifically. Within the North-western Indo-Aryan context, the dative subject is employed in a variety of ways, as illustrated by Punjabi and Mankiyali in Examples 5.1 through 5.3.

5. Dative Subjects: 'I like my house'

a. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਆਪਣਾ ਘਰ ਚੰਗਾ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ. مینوں آپنا گھر چنگا لگدا اے

mæ	-nũũ	aapṇ	-aa	kàr	čãg	-aa		[P]
1.SG.OBL	-DAT	REFL	-M.SG	house	good	-M.SG		

lag	-d	-aa	e
seem	-IMPF	-M.SG	be.PRS.3SG

'I like my house'

b. *maz apaṇa goṛ šu lagãã*

ma	-z	apaṇ	-a	goṛ	šu		[Mnk]
1SG.OBL	-DAT	REFL	-M.SG	house	good		

lag	-ãã
seem	-IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'I like my house'

5.i Dative Subjects: 'My daughter has gotten a fever'

a. ਮੇਰੀ ਕੁੜੀ ਨੂੰ ਬੁਖ਼ਾਰ ਚਾੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ. میری کڑی نوں بخار چڑھیا اے

mer	-ii	kuṛ	-ii	=nũũ	buxaar	[P]
1SG.GEN	-F.SG	girl	-OBL	=DAT	fever	

čáṛ	-iya	e
climb	-PERF.M	be.PRS.3SG.M

'My daughter has (gotten) a fever'

b. *mɪɪṇ tiiz táá[13] uɣatʰo.*

mɪɪṇ	tii	-z	táá	uɣatʰ	-o	[Mnk]
1SG.GEN.F.SG.OBL	daughter.OBL	-DAT	fever.DIR	climb.PRET	-M.SG	

'My daughter has (gotten) a fever'

---

[13] Cf. S. ⟨ताप⟩ *taapa* 'heating'; G. ⟨તાવ⟩ *taav* 'fever'

5.ii Dative Subjects: 'I like Chinese food a lot'

a. ਮੈਨੂੰ ਚੀਨੀ ਖਾਣਾ ਬੋਹੋਤ ਪਸੰਦ ਹੈ.　مینوں چینی کھانا بہت پسند اے

mæ	-nũ̃	čiinii	kʰaaṇ	-aa	bɔ́t	pasand	e	[P]
1sg	-DAT	Chinese| food	-DIR	very	like	be.PRS.3SG.M	

'I like Chinese food a lot'

b. *maz čiinii kʰaṇa lak pasand u*　　　　　　　　　　　　[Mnk]

ma	-z	čiinii	kʰaṇ	-a	pasand	u
1sg.obl	-DAT	Chinese	food	-DIR	like	be.PRS.M.SG

'I like Chinese food a lot'

5.iii Dative Subjects: 'We got angry'

a. ਸਾਨੂੰ ਗੁੱਸਾ ਆਇਆ.　سانوں غصہ آیا۔

saa	-nũ̃	gussaa	aa	-yaa	[P]
1PL.OBL	-DAT	anger	come	-PERF.M.SG

'We got angry'

amaz rož uɣatʰo

b.
am	-a	-z	rož[14]	uɣatʰ	-o	[Mnk]
1PL	-OBL	-DAT	anger.DIR	climb.PRET	-M.SG

'We got angry'

Punjabi examples adapted from Bashir & Conners (2019: 447-449)

1.6.1.3 The Postpositional Phrase

The Mankiyali postpositional phrase is typologically similar to that of other Indo-Aryan languages. The distinction between postpositional phrase and case ending, as outlined in 1.5 Organization of the Thesis, rests on assignment of cases. The Mankiyali postposition is thus considered distinct from the noun case system in that case endings are assigned by another element such as another noun, postposition, or a verb, while postpositions assign the oblique or ablative case to the noun they modify (see Chapter 4: Postpositions). Figure 3 provides a tree diagram of a postpositional phrase.

---

[14] Cf. S. ⟨ईर्ष्या⟩ *iirṣyaa* 'jealousy'; N. ⟨रिस⟩ *ris* 'anger' (Turner, 1962, p. 73)

Figure 3: The Mankiyali Postpositional Phrase

'in a house'
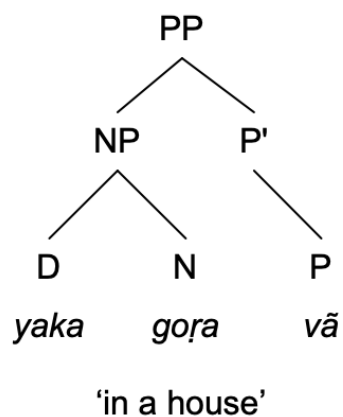
1.6.1.4 The Verb Phrase

The verb phrase in Mankiyali consists of a wide array of auxiliary forms that are employed to express aspectual and modal distinctions. The maximal structure of the Mankiyali verb corresponds to the system of NIA verbs outlined by Masica:

Figure 4: Structure of the Mankiyali Verb

VERB STEM + Aspect Marker + (CONCORD) + Tense Marker Mood Marker + (CONCORD)

However, the structure outlined by Figure 4 is somewhat concealed in Mankiyali by the coalescence of the aspect marker with the verb stem in the preterite, resulting in a surface presentation (Figure 5) that is more fusional than Figure 4 implies, with an unmarked imperfect stem and a marked perfect stem.

Figure 5: Comparative Structure of the Perfect Past, Imperfect Past, and Preterite of *karaṇa* 'to do'

kar ɣalu ããzu 'do.PERF.PST.M.SG' ((he) has done)

VERB STEM Ø		PERF		M.SG		PST		M.SG
kar	+	ɣal	+	u	+	ããz	+	u

karããzõ 'do.IMPF.PST.M.SG' ((he) was doing)

VERB STEM Ø		IMPF				PST		M.SG
kar	+	ãã	+	Ø	+	z	+	õ

kiṛo 'do.PRET.M.SG' ((he) did)

VERB STEM PRET		M.SG						
kiṛ	+	o	+	Ø	+	Ø	+	Ø

Figure 6: Tree Diagram of a Mankiyali Sentence

'a small boy drank some water'
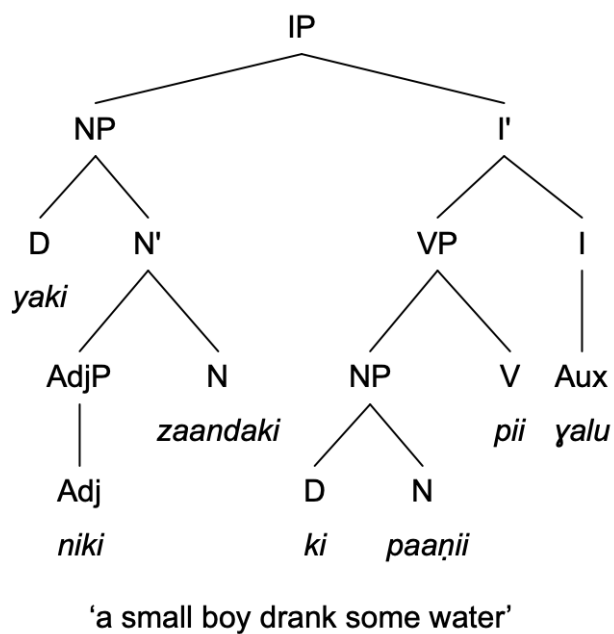
1.2 Methodology

This thesis relies primarily on natural discourse collected from members of the Mankiyali speech community. Schnell posits that elicitations are useful in compilation of complete constructions that may not be evident in less-controlled speech acts (Schnell,

2018, p. 174). Every effort was made to source observations from natural conversations over elicitations, with the latter serving to complete gaps in paradigms observed in less-structured data. Additionally, the analytical framework was structured secondarily around comparative analysis to closely-related languages, as was put forth by Bowern as a useful structure for fieldworkers (2018: 206).

Texts used in this analysis are part of the database for the documentation project headed by Munshi, and will be included in the Mankiyali Language Resource, a digital corpus of Mankiyali linguistic materials, part of the Computational Resource for South Asian Languages (CoRSAL). This archive aims to preserve linguistic data from minority and under-resourced languages in South Asia (CoRSAL, 2022). Unless otherwise indicated, Kashmiri data were elicited from Sadaf Munshi in personal communication.

1.3 Transcription Key

In keeping with conventions employed in South Asian linguistic research (1993: xv), as well as prior work on Mankiyali (Paramore, 2020: 5), the following symbols which differ from the International Phonetic Alphabet standard are used in transcription:

- Retroflex consonants employ a dot below the symbol: [ṭ], [ḍ], [ṇ], [ṛ]

- Dental and alveolar consonants are unmarked: [t], [d], [n], [r]

- [c] is used for the voiceless alveolar affricate (IPA: [t͡s]).

- Háčeks (also known as carons) are used to transcribe fricatives and affricates that occur in a post-alveolar environment: i.e., [č] in place of [t͡ʃ], [ǰ] in place of [d͡ʒ], and [š] and [ž] over [ʃ] and [ʒ], respectively.

- Vowel length is marked by doubling the grapheme in order to avoid the visual clutter that would occur with a long tonal nasal vowel (i.e., [tűű] is preferred over [tű̄])

- High tone, is indicated by an acute accent over the relevant vowel (as in [kár] 'watch'). When long, tone marking is doubled with the vowel (as in [tű́ű́], above). Low tone is unmarked (*pít* 'door'; *pit* 'bitter.F.SG.DIR' & *paal* 'precaution'; *páál* 'see.IMP.SG')

Transcriptions in citations have additionally been regularized to conform with the conventions of this thesis. A full transcription guide is provided in Appendix A.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter, establishing the background of the Mankiyali language. Chapter 2 covers noun morphology and case marking; Chapter 3 covers the morphology of adjectives and adverbial modification. Chapter 4 details postpositional modification. In this thesis, postpositions are assigned to CHAPTER 4 for discussion when they form a case ending that is not assigned case by another element. Chapter 5 describes verb morphology.

1.6 Summary

While overall Mankiyali displays typological patterns that provide clues to the methods in which inflectional morphology will manifest, there are a number of anomalies, including the lack of availability of certain ergative constructions in the intransitive, and the more fusional nature of verb conjugations that necessitate a detailed examination of Mankiyali inflectional morphology.

CHAPTER 2

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

Mankiyali noun morphology is defined by a robust system of agreement and case marking. In nouns and pronouns, the Old Indo-Aryan masculine–feminine–neuter, singular–dual–plural, eight case system collapsed by the MIA period. Further phonological change, including the loss of final short vowels, resulted in a number of phenomena arising to meet the functional needs of the case endings that were no longer phonologically distinct. Ultimately this resulted in the modern NIA distinction between the direct case (a fusion of the nominative and accusative) and all of the oblique cases except the instrumental coalescing into a single case with their functions expressed through postpositions. This is what's termed the layered case system, outlined in Figure 7, in which there are up to three distinct layers of case suffixes and one layer of postpositions that convey the function of case.

Figure 7: Mankiyali Layered Case System

STEM	LAYER I	LAYER II	LAYER III
cuukʰuur	-Ø		
animal	-DIR.M.SG		
'the/an animal'			

STEM	LAYER I	LAYER II	LAYER III
cuukʰur	-a		
animal	-OBL.M.SG		
'the/an animal'			

STEM	LAYER I	LAYER II	LAYER III
cuukʰur	-a	-ĩ	
animal	-OBL.M.SG	-ABL	
'from the/an animal'			

STEM	LAYER I	LAYER II	LAYER III
cuukʰur	-a	-ĩ	baad
animal	-OBL.M.SG	-ABL	after
'after the/an animal'			

Which case endings function on a given case layer vary between languages, and the system is thus useful in comparative analysis. The result of this development in NIA languages is evident in Mankiyali, presenting as a modern system of distinction consisting of masculine–feminine, singular–plural, and seven cases: four Layer I cases and three Layer II cases. Pronouns and nouns decline slightly differently from each other, with all pronouns lacking distinct vocative case declensions. Layer I case endings in Mankiyali consist of the direct, oblique, ergative and vocative in Mankiyali. The inflectional paradigms of direct, oblique, ergative and vocative cases are notably more morphologically complex than the Layer II cases. Layer II case endings include the dative, ablative, and genitive cases. The direct, oblique, and ergative cases are instrumental in classifying nouns into declensional paradigms.

2.1 Case Morphology and Noun Classes

This section begins by providing a classification scheme for inflectional paradigms of Mankiyali nouns based on attested morphological patterns in Section 2.1.1 Noun Classes. This is followed by a description of the various functions of Layer I cases in Section 2.2.2 Layer I Cases. Section 2.2.3 Layer II Cases discusses the formation and function of the Layer II case suffixes.

2.1.1 Noun Classes

Nouns in Mankiyali appear to broadly fall into five declensional paradigms based on the surface forms they exhibit when declined. The morphological processes involved in Mankiyali noun case formation are distinct from those observed in Lahnda languages; two types of vowel mutation are productive morphological processes in Mankiyali: stem-final and stem-internal. The former is a distinguishing characteristic of Class I and IV nouns, with the latter defining Class II nouns. Both of these processes are discussed in detail in the

relevant sections on each class. Additionally, presentation of a distinct Layer I ergative case ending which appears to be, as in Kashmiri, a relic of the OIA instrumental, sets Mankiyali noun paradigms apart from those in contact languages.

2.1.1.1 Class I Nouns

Class I nouns are invariably masculine. These nouns undergo stem-final vowel mutation to [-i] in formation of the oblique, ergative, and vocative, with reduction of the underlying /i/ to the semivowel [y] in the oblique and ergative plurals, as well as the vocative singular and plural. Table 4 provides a complete paradigm of Layer I inflection of Class I nouns.

Table 4: Class I Noun Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'husband'	M.SG	zaṇa	zaṇi	zaṇi	zaṇya
	M.PL	zaṇi	zaṇyõ	zaṇyõ	zaṇyĩĩ
'donkey'	M.SG	kʰoota	kʰooti	kʰooti	kʰootya
	M.PL	kʰooti	kʰootyõ	kʰootyõ	kʰootyĩĩ

2.1.1.2 Class II Nouns

Class II nouns are either masculine or feminine, and are defined by an extensive system of vowel shift in the stem when declined. When declined for plurality, or into the oblique or ergative singular, the final syllable of these nouns will mutate to [ee], [ɪ(ɪ)], or [i(i)] depending on the vowel in the direct. In Mankiyali, vowel mutation is characterized by fronting and raising of the vowel. Since [ɪ(ɪ)] and [i(i)] are near-close, and close front vowels respectively, they cannot be further fronted or raised. As illustrated by Table 5, below, if a final syllable has a nucleus that cannot mutate, as in *ḍaakii*, 'postman.M.SG.DIR'; *ḍeekii* 'postman.M.PL.DIR', the next-closest syllable with a mutable vowel will shift instead.

Table 5: Class II Noun Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'ox'	M.SG	goo	gɪɪ	gɪɪ	gɪɪya
	M.PL	gɪɪ	gɪɪyõ	gɪɪyo	gɪɪyɪ̃ĩ
'postman'	M.SG	ḍaakii	ḍeekii	ḍeekii	ḍeekiya
	M.PL	ḍeekii	ḍeekyõ	ḍeekyõ	ḍeekiyɪ̃ĩ
'mother'	F.SG	maal	meel	meel	meelya
	F.PL	meel	meelyõ	meelyõ	meelyɪ̃ĩ
'grandmother'	F.SG	naaṇ	neeṇ	neeṇ	neeṇya
	F.PL	neeṇ	neeṇyõ	neeṇyõ	neeṇyɪ̃ĩ

Class II nouns further have a vowel harmony rule in words with two adjacent syllables with either /u/ or /uu/ as the syllabic nucleus: the expected plural of a Class IV noun with the structure (C)u(:)Cu(:)(C) would be *(C)u(:)Ci(:)(C), following the pattern attested in *luŋgaaṛ* 'fox.F.SG.DIR'; *luŋgeeṛ* 'fox.F.PL.DIR'. However, in words with the aforementioned syllabic structure, both nuclei shift: *kucuur*[15] 'bitch.F.SG.DIR'; *kiciir* bitch.F.PL.DIR, *kuukuuṛ*[16] 'hen.F.SG.DIR'; *kiikiiṛ* 'hen.F.PL.DIR'.

2.1.1.3 Class III Nouns

Class III nouns are either masculine or feminine and are characterized by a direct singular ending in a consonant, a direct plural identical to the oblique singular ending in /-a/, an oblique plural that is phonologically identical to the ergative plural ending in /-õ/, and a distinct ergative singular suffix /-i/.

---

[15] Cf. S. ⟨कुच्चुर⟩ *kuččura* 'dog' (Turner, 1962: 164)
[16] Cf. S. ⟨कुक्कुट⟩ *kukkuṭa* 'cock' (Turner, 1962: 164)

Table 6: Class III Noun Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'animal'	M.SG	cuukʰuur	cuukʰura	cuukʰuri	cuukʰurya
	M.PL	cuukʰura	cuukʰurõ	cuukʰurõ	cuukʰuryĩ̃
'traveler'	M.SG	mosaafar	mosaaf(a)ra	mosaaf(a)ri	mosaafarya
	M.PL	mosaafara	mosaaf(a)rõ	mosaaf(a)rõ	mosaafaryĩ̃
'sun'	M.SG	diz	diza	dizi	dizya
	M.PL	diza	dizõ	dizõ[17]	dizyĩ̃
'snake'	F.SG	saap	sapa	sapi	sapee[18]
	F.PL	sapa	sapõ	sapõ	sapĩ̃
'wolf'	F.SG	šarmax	šarmaxa	šarmaxi	šarmaxya
	F.PL	šarmaxa	šarmaxõ	šarmaxõ	šarmaxyĩ̃

These nouns are additionally characterized by obligatory vowel length reduction in the stem in cases other than the direct singular, i.e., when the syllable structure of the direct singular is (C)VːCVːC. As demonstrated in Table 6, *cuukʰuur* 'animal.M.SG.DIR' *cuukʰura* 'animal.M.SG.OBL'. These changes may be motivated by phonotactic constraints in Mankiyali. There is optional vowel epenthesis in the penultimate syllable in non-direct, cases when the syllabic structure is ((C)V(ː))CVC, as in *mosaafar* 'traveller.M.SG.DIR' which may alternately present as *mosaafra* or *mosaafara* 'traveller.M.SG.OBL'; this epenthesis is blocked in the vocative, *mosaafarya* 'traveller.M.SG.VOC' as Mankiyali does not permit triconsonantal clusters (Paramore, 2020, p. 34).

2.1.1.4 Class IV Nouns

Class IV nouns, much as Class I nouns, are invariably masculine nouns. The defining characteristic of this class is an identical direct and oblique case ending in both the singular and plural ending in a long [-aa]. Class IV nouns are solely marked for the ergative, wherein the ergative singular is suffixed with [-ee] and the ergative plural presents as the suffix [-ɪõ].

---

[17] This form is theoretically possible, but is not used in practice.
[18] Bilabial consonants in the stem block the /-y-/ in the vocative suffixes from surfacing.

It is likely that these nouns would have an oblique singular ending represented by [-a], and an oblique plural [-õ] but the sequences *[-aaa] and *[aaõ] are not permitted phonologically. Class IV nouns are mostly loanwords, with the nouns illustrated in Table 7 ultimately being borrowed into Mankiyali from Persian, Pashto, and Urdu, respectively[19]. Table 7, below, provides a full paradigm for Class IV nouns.

Table 7: Class IV Noun Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'king'	M.SG	baadšaa	baadšaa	baadšee	baadšaa
	M.PL	baadšaa	baadšaa	baadšɪõ	baadšaa
'uncle'	M.SG	kaakaa	kaakaa	kaakee	kaakaa
	M.PL	kaakaa	kaakaa	kaakɪõ	kaakaa
'fort'	M.SG	kaalaa	kaalaa	kaalee	kaalaa
	M.PL	kaalaa	kaalaa	kaalɪõ	kaalaa

2.1.1.5 Class V Nouns

Class V nouns encompass all nouns that have neither a distinct singular oblique nor a distinct singular ergative. These nouns may be either masculine or feminine, and are of diverse origin. These nouns differ from Class IV nouns by having a direct singular and plural, oblique singular, and ergative singular form identical to one another. Table 8 demonstrates the paradigm described above.

---

[19] Compare with Pers. *paadešaa(h)* ⟨پادِشاه⟩ 'king', Psh. *kaakaa* ⟨کاکا⟩ 'uncle', and Urdu *kilaa* ⟨قِلعَہ⟩ 'fortress' from Ar. *qalʕa(-tun)* ⟨قَلْعَةٌ⟩, respectively

Table 8: Class V Noun Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'sister's son'	M.SG	xvarɪɪ	xvarɪɪ	xvarɪɪ	xvarɪɪ
	M.PL	xvarɪɪ	xvarɪyõ	xvarɪyõ	xvarɪyĩĩ
'deer'	F.SG	harnii	harnii	harnii	harnii
	F.PL	harnii	harniiyõ	harniiyõ	harniyĩĩ

2.2.2 Layer I Cases

The previous section discussed the formation of the Layer I cases; this section describes their function in Mankiyali.

2.2.2.1 The Direct

The direct case arose from a coalescence of the Middle Indo-Aryan nominative and accusative (Masica, The Indo-Aryan Languages, 1993). The Mankiyali direct case marks the agent or patient of imperfect transitive verbs, as well as the argument of intransitive sentences. The following table provides the direct case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 9: Nominal Direct Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇa	ḍaakii	cuukʰuur	baadšaa	xvarɪɪ
M.PL	zaṇi	ḍeekii	cuukʰura	baadšaa	xvarɪɪ
F.SG	—	maal	saap	—	harnii
F.PL	—	meel	sapa	—	harnii

Below, Example 6 provides two sentences highlighting the use of the direct case in nouns. The direct case occurs relatively frequently and is seen in both intransitive and transitive clauses.

6. Examples of the Direct Case

a. *niir žĭ vɪɪli žɪ aav.*
    niir   **-Ø**   žĭ   **vɪɪl**   **-i**   žɪ   aav
    sleep **-DIR** which **time** **-DIR.PL** PTCL come.PRET.F.SG
    'During the time when sleep came'

b. *hɪ pari páál **goṛ** u*
    hɪ   pari   páál   **goṛ**   **-Ø**   u
    3SG.DIST.DIR there see.IMP.SG   **house** **-DIR.M.SG**   be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG
    'See, there is a house'

2.2.2.2 The Oblique

The Mankiyali oblique case serves as a stem for Layer II case endings and postpositions. It arose from the collapse of the Middle Indo-Aryan ablative, genitive, dative, and locative which are collectively termed 'oblique cases' by Bloch (1965) and Masica (1993). The oblique case is additionally employed in adverbial derivation. The following table provides the oblique case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 10: Nominal Oblique Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇi	ḍeekii	cuukʰura	baadšaa	xvarɪɪ
M.PL	zaṇyõ	ḍeekyõ	cuukʰurõ	baadšaa	xvarɪyõ
F.SG	—	meel	sapa	—	harnii
F.PL	—	meelyõ	sapõ	—	harniyõ

The use of the oblique case is highlighted in Example 7. Below, both oblique constructions highlighted involve postpositional phrases.

7. Examples of the Oblique Case

a. *ma laahora mazar yasiin mila vã kaam karããzõ*

ma	**laahor**	**-a**	mazar	**yasiin.mil**	**-a**	vã	kaam
1SG.DIR	**Lahore**	**-OBL**	inside	**Yaseen.Mill**	**-OBL**	in	work

kar	-ãã	-zõ
do	-IMPF	-M.SG

'I was working in Lahore, in Yaseen Mill'

b. *poraaṇi **zamaaṇi** vã yak baaštaa aazũ*

poraaṇ	-i	**zamaan**	**-i**	vã	yak
old	-OBL.M.SG	**time**	**-OBL.SG**	in	one

baaštaa	-∅	aazũ
king	-DIR	be.IMPF.PST.M.SG

'Long ago (lit., In olden times) there was a king'

2.2.2.3 The Ergative

As discussed in Section 1.6.1.1, the Mankiyali ergative case surfaces in the past perfect and preterite exclusively. The Mankiyali ergative case suffix is morphologically unusual, and marking in classes I, II, and V is identical to the oblique. Nevertheless, the presence of a distinct ergative singular in Classes III and IV and a distinct ergative plural in Class IV, as well as its coalescence with the oblique in Classes I, II, and V raise questions regarding the ultimate origin of this case ending. Bloch notes that the OIA instrumental survives to varying degrees in a number of languages, often conveying an ergative function (1965: 171). The following table provides the ergative case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 11: Nominal Ergative Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇi	ḍeekii	cuukʰuri	baadšee	xvarɪɪ
M.PL	zaṇyõ	ḍeekiiyõ	cuukʰurõ	baadšɪõ	xvarɪyõ
F.SG	—	meel	sapi	—	harnii
F.PL	—	meelyõ	sapõ	—	harniyõ

Example 8 provides phrases using the ergative. Note that *baaštaa* and *baadšaa* are both

'king' in Mankiyali, with the former a nativized form, but both are ultimately lonewords.

8. Examples of the Ergative

a. ***baaštee*** *hɪ loṛeevi.*

baaštaa	**-i**	hɪ	loṛee	-ṽĩ
king	-ERG.SG	3SG.DIST.DIR	call.PRET	-F.SG

'The king called for her.'

b. ***meel*** *pɪɪɖ kʰɪ ɣalu.*

meel	pɪɪɖ	-Ø	kʰɪ	ɣal	-u
mother.ERG.SG	food	-DIR.SG	eat	AUX.PERF.PST	-M.SG

'The mother ate the food'

2.2.2.4 The Vocative

The Mankiyali vocative case is notable in being a Layer I case ending, which contrasts

with Punjabi and Hindko where vocative nouns are expressed through a Layer II case (Bashir

& Conners, 2019). The vocative case in Mankiyali initially appears to be consistent with a

Layer II case ending, with Class II and Class III nouns undergoing the stem vowel shift or

epenthesis expected in formation of the oblique stem, respective to considerations of noun

class. However, the morphology of the vocative case suffix in Mankiyali is distinct in that the

choice of suffix in the singular is dependent on gender of the noun it is suffixed to. This

would be unexpected of a Layer II case (see Section 2.2.3 Layer II Cases). The following table

provides the direct case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal*

'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii*

'deer'.

Table 12: Nominal Vocative Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇya	ḍeekya	cuukʰurya	baadšaa	xvarɪɪ
M.PL	zaṇyɪ̃ĩ	ḍeekyɪ̃ĩ	cuukʰuryɪ̃ĩ	baadšaa	xvarɪyɪ̃ĩ
F.SG	—	meelyee	sape	—	harnii
F.PL	—	meelyɪ̃ĩ	sapɪ̃ĩ	—	harniyɪ̃ĩ

The vocative is the most infrequent Layer I case in Mankiyali. It may occur with or without a particle, as demonstrated below by examples 9.b and 9.a, respectively.

9. Examples of the Vocative Case

a. *am manǰu 'zaṇya! am ai duvõ bok kɪɪla u, ha koɪ yã na.'*

am	manǰ	-u	**zaṇ**	**-ya**	am	ai	du	-õ	bok
1pl.dir	say.PRET	-M.SG	**man**	**-VOC**	1pl.dir	EMPH	two	-OBL	book

kɪɪl	-a	u		ha	koɪ	yã		na
do.PTCP	-M.SG	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG		and	someone	come.FUT.M.SG		NEG

'We said, 'Oh man, we booked [the flight] and nobody else will come'.'

b. *o kuṛɪɪlyee tu čaa karaĩ?*

o	**kuṛɪɪl**	**-yee**	tu	čaa	kar	-aĩ
PTCL	**girl**	**-VOC.F.SG**	2SG.DIR	what	do.IMPF	-PRS.F.SG

'Hey lady, what are you doing?'

2.2.3 Layer II Cases

Within an Indo-Aryan context, Layer II cases consist of affixes that convey the meaning of case, but are mostly etymologically distinct from cases inherited directly from OIA. Layer II cases attach to the oblique stem and are mostly ultimately derived from postpositions that have undergone grammaticalization in NIA. Indeed, a number of inherently historical postpositions have undergone a degree of phonological reduction to the point that they have completely fused onto the noun. Mankiyali Layer II case endings consist of the dative, ablative, and genitive; adjectives modifying nouns in these cases are invariably oblique adjectives. The ablative is restricted to a single case suffix, *-ĩ*, and the

dative surfaces either as underlying *-z* or as a clitic *=zɪ*. The extreme variation in the surface

forms of the genitive suffix is triggered by obligatory concord with Layer I case and

grammatical gender of the possessee.

Table 13: Summary of Layer II Case Suffixes

	DAT	ABL	GEN
SG	-z, -az, =zɪ	-ĩ	-ṇ-
PL	-z, -az =zɪ	-ĩ	-ṇ-

2.2.3.1 The Dative

The dative alternately surfaces as a suffix *-(a)z*, with an optional epenthetic vowel

between the stem and the suffix, or as a clitic *=zɪ* that follows the oblique noun that is

considered a separate word by speakers. The choice regarding whether the suffix will be

used or the clitic appears to be partially motivated by phonological conditions, and

additionally by pragmatic considerations.

The dative is a notably salient case in Mankiyali. The case conveys both a dative and

accusative function; consequently, some authors refer to it as the dative–accusative (Bashir

& Conners, 2019). The following table provides the dative case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man,

husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king',

xvarɪɪ 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 14: Dative Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇiz	ḍeekiiz	cuukʰuraz	baadšaaz	xvarɪɪz
	zani zɪ	deekii zɪ	cuukʰura zɪ	baadšaa zɪ	xvarɪɪ zɪ
M.PL	zaṇyõ	ḍeekiiyõz	cuukʰurõz	baadšaa	xvarɪyõz
	zaṇyõ zɪ	ḍeekiyõ zɪ	cuukʰurõ zɪ	baadšaa zɪ	xvarɪyõ zɪ
F.SG	—	meelaz	sapaz	—	harniiz
	—	meel zɪ	sapa zɪ	—	harni zɪ
F.PL	—	meelyõz	sapõz	—	harniyõz
	—	meelyõ zɪ	sapõ zɪ	—	harniyõ zɪ

Example 10 provides two functions of the dative case. In 10.a, the suffix functions as a true

dative in *pučaz* 'to [his] son'. Conversely, in 10.b, *tɪlvaaraz* 'the sword' displays this suffix's

accusative function.

10. Examples of the Dative Case

a. *ti čaa kiṛa baaštee yak yak ṭisaaṛ apaṇi yaka yaka pučaz dit*

ti	čaa	kiṛ	-a	baaštaa	-i	yak	~yak	ṭisaaṛ
3SG.INVIS.ERG	what	do.PRET	-M.SG	king	-ERG.SG	one.DIR	~REDUP	stick.DIR

apaṇ	-i	yak	-a	~yak	-a	puč	-a	-z
own	-OBL.M.SG	one	-OBL	~REDUP	-OBL	son	-OBL.SG	-DAT

dit
give.PRET.F.SG
'What the king did was he gave one stick to each of his sons'

b. *ti manǰu 'na yara koɪ ṭɪɪm-šɪɪm na u tɪlvaaraz aṇya yara'*

ti	manǰ	-u	na	yara	koɪ	ṭɪɪm	~šɪɪm
3SG.INVIS.ERG	say	-PST.M.SG	NEG	PTCL	INDEF	time	~REDUP

na	u	tɪlvaar	-a	-z	aṇ	-ya	yara
NEG	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG	sword	-OBL	-DAT	bring	-IMP.PL	PTCL

'He said 'there's no time, bring me the sword'.'

2.2.3.2 The Ablative

The ablative case is a simple /-ĩ/ suffix attached to the oblique stem of nouns. This

single case suffix, as with the dative, serves a dual function, either conveying an ablative or

instrumental meaning. The following table provides the ablative case paradigms for *zaṇa*

'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa*

'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 15: Ablative Case Paradigms

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG	zaṇĩ	ḍeekiiyĩ	cuukʰuraĩ	baadšaaĩ	xvarɪyĩ
M.PL	zaṇyõĩ	ḍeekiiyõĩ	cuukʰurõĩ	baadšɪõĩ	xvarɪyõĩ
F.SG	—	meelĩ	sapaĩ	—	harniyĩ
F.PL	—	meelyõĩ	sapõĩ	—	harniyõĩ

Nouns in the ablative may additionally serve an adverbial function, as in *farzaĩ* 'in the morning'. The ablative does not map perfectly with the instrumental, as illustrated below in Example 11.b, where postpositions are used in conjunct with vehicles.

11. Examples of the Ablative Case

a. *muɣrĩ **farzaĩ** am vaxti žĩ tʰu tɪ aavi.*

muɣrĩ	**farz**	**-a**	**-ĩ**	am	vaxti	žĩ tʰu tɪ	aavi
first.OBL	**morning**	**-OBL.SG**	**-ABL**	1PL.ERG	early	PTCL	come.PRET.M.PL

'First, we came early in the morning'

b. *huṭ hĩ páál **goṛaĩ** koɪ mooṭarsiikalõ mat tilĩ koɪ hĩ páál gɪḍyõ vã tilĩ*

huṭ	hĩ	páál	**goṛ**	**-a**	**ĩ**	koɪ
now	3SG.PROX.DIR	see.IMP.SG	**house**	**-OBL**	**-ABL**	which

mooṭarsiikal	-õ	mat	til	-ĩ	koɪ	**goṛ**	**-a**	**ĩ**
motorcycle	-OBL.PL	on	go.IMPF	-PRS.PL	which	**house**	**-OBL**	**-ABL**

hĩ	páál	gɪḍ	-yõ	vã	til	-ĩ
3SG.PROX.DIR	see.IMP.SG	car	-OBL.PL	in	go.IMPF	-PRS.PL

'Now, you see, some people travel from home by motorcycle, you see some travel from home by car'

2.2.3.3 The Genitive

The Mankiyali genitive case agrees with respect to the Layer I case, number, and gender of the possessee. In genitive nouns, the ergative concord overlaps phonologically with the oblique forms. In common with other Layer II cases, the genitive suffix attaches to the oblique stem of the noun, with the morphemes required of gender concord form occasionally eclipsing the final syllable nucleus of the oblique stem (see *baadšɪɪṇ* king.M.SG›DIR.F.PL in Table 16). The following table provides the genitive case paradigms for *zaṇa* 'man, husband', *ḍaakii* 'postman', *maal* 'mother', *cuukʰuur* 'animal', *saap* 'snake', *baadšaa* 'king', *xvarɪɪ* 'sister's son', and *harnii* 'deer'.

Table 16: Genitive Noun Paradigms

ᴍ Possessee	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG›DIR.M.SG	zaṇɪṇa	ḍeekiiṇa	cuukʰuraṇa	baadšaaṇa	xvarɪɪṇa
M.SG›DIR.M.PL	zaṇɪṇi	ḍeekiiṇi	cuukʰuraṇi	baadšaaṇi	xvarɪɪṇi
M.PL›DIR.M.SG	zaṇyõṇa	ḍeekiiyõṇa	cuukʰurõṇa	baadšĭõṇa	xvarɪyõṇa
M.PL›DIR.M.PL	zaṇyõṇi	ḍeekiiyõṇi	cuukʰurõṇi	baadšĭõṇi	xvarɪyõṇi
F.SG›DIR.M.SG	—	meelɪṇa	sapaṇa	—	harniiṇa
F.SG›DIR.M.PL	—	meelɪṇi	sapaṇi	—	harniiṇi
F.PL›DIR.M.SG	—	meelyõṇa	sapõṇa	—	harniyõṇa
F.PL›DIR.M.PL	—	meelyõṇi	sapõṇi	—	harniyõṇi
M.SG›OBL.M.SG	zaṇɪṇi	ḍeekiiṇi	cuukʰuraṇi	baadšaaṇi	xvarɪɪṇi
M.SG›OBL.M.PL	zaṇɪṇi	ḍeekiiṇi	cuukʰuraṇi	baadšaaṇi	xvarɪɪṇi
M.PL›OBL.M.SG	zaṇyõṇi	ḍeekiiyõṇi	cuukʰurõṇi	baadšĭõṇi	xvarɪyõṇi
M.PL›OBL.M.PL	zaṇyõṇi	ḍeekiiyõṇi	cuukʰurõṇi	baadšĭõṇi	xvarɪyõṇi
F.SG›OBL.M.SG	—	meelɪṇi	sapaṇi	—	harniiṇi
F.SG›OBL.M.PL	—	meelɪṇi	sapaṇi	—	harniiṇi
F.PL›OBL.M.SG	—	meelyõṇi	sapõṇi	—	harniyõṇi
F.PL›OBL.M.PL	—	meelyõṇi	sapõṇi	—	harniyõṇi
M.SG›VOC.M.SG	zaṇɪṇya	ḍeekiiṇya	cuukʰuraṇya	baadšaaṇya	xvarɪɪṇya
M.SG›VOC.M.PL	zaṇɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	ḍeekiiṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	cuukʰuraṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	baadšaaṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	xvarɪɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃
M.PL›VOC.M.SG	zaṇyõṇya	ḍeekiiyõṇya	cuukʰurõṇya	baadšĭõṇya	xvarɪyõṇi
M.PL›VOC.M.PL	zaṇyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	ḍeekiiyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	cuukʰurõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	baadšĭõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	xvarɪyõṇi
F.SG›VOC.M.SG	—	meelɪṇya	sapaṇya	—	harniiṇya
F.SG›VOC.M.PL	—	meelɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	sapaṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	—	harniiṇyɪ̃ɪ̃
F.PL›VOC.M.SG	—	meelyõṇya	sapõṇya	—	harniyõṇya
F.PL›VOC.M.PL	—	meelyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	sapõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	—	harniyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃

ꜰ Possessee	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
M.SG›DIR.F.SG	zaṇɪṇ	ḍeekiiṇ	cuukʰuraaṇ	baadšaaṇ	xvarɪɪṇ
M.SG›DIR.F.PL	zaṇɪṇ	ḍeekiiṇ	cuukʰurɪɪṇ	baadšɪɪṇ	xvarɪɪṇ
M.PL›DIR.F.SG	zaṇyõṇ	ḍeekiiyõṇ	cuukʰurõṇ	baadšĭõṇ	xvarɪyõṇ
M.PL›DIR.F.PL	zaṇyõṇ	ḍeekiiyõṇ	cuukʰurõṇ	baadšĭõṇ	xvarɪyõṇ
F.SG›DIR.F.SG	—	meelɪɪṇ	sapaaṇ	—	harniiṇ
F.SG›DIR.F.PL	—	meelɪɪṇ	sapɪɪṇ	—	harniiṇ
F.PL›DIR.F.SG	—	meelyõṇ	sapõṇ	—	harniyõṇ
F.PL›DIR.F.PL	—	meelyõṇ	sapõṇ	—	harniyõṇ
M.SG›OBL.F.SG	zaṇɪṇ	ḍeekiiṇi	cuukʰurɪɪṇ	baadšɪɪṇ	xvarɪɪṇ
M.SG›OBL.F.PL	zaṇɪṇ	ḍeekiiṇi	cuukʰurɪɪṇ	baadšɪɪṇ	xvarɪɪṇ
M.PL›OBL.F.SG	zaṇyõṇ	ḍeekiiyõṇ	cuukʰurõṇ	baadšĭõṇ	xvarɪyõṇ
M.PL›OBL.F.PL	zaṇyõṇ	ḍeekiiyõṇ	cuukʰurõṇ	baadšĭõṇ	xvarɪyõṇ
F.SG›OBL.F.SG	—	meelɪɪṇ	sapɪɪṇ	—	harniiṇ
F.SG›OBL.F.PL	—	meelɪɪṇ	sapɪɪṇ	—	harniiṇ
F.PL›OBL.F.SG	—	meelyõṇ	sapõṇ	—	harniyõṇ
F.PL›OBL.F.PL	—	meelyõṇ	sapõṇ	—	harniyõṇ
M.SG›VOC.F.SG	zaṇɪṇyee	ḍeekiiṇyee	cuukʰurɪɪṇyee	baadšɪɪṇyee	xvarɪɪṇyee
M.SG›VOC.F.PL	zaṇɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	ḍeekiiṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	cuukʰurɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	baadšɪɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	xvarɪɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃
M.PL›VOC.F.SG	zaṇyõṇyee	ḍeekiiyõṇyee	cuukʰurõṇyee	baadšĭõṇyee	xvarɪyõṇi
M.PL›VOC.F.PL	zaṇyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	ḍeekiiyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	cuukʰurõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	baadšĭõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	xvarɪyõṇi
F.SG›VOC.F.SG	—	meelɪɪṇyee	sapɪɪṇyee	—	harniiṇyee
F.SG›VOC.F.PL	—	meelɪɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	sapɪɪṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	—	harniiṇyɪ̃ɪ̃
F.PL›VOC.F.SG	—	meelyõṇyee	sapõṇyee	—	harniyõṇyee
F.PL›VOC.F.PL	—	meelyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	sapõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃	—	harniyõṇyɪ̃ɪ̃

The Mankiyali genitive is additionally employed in an attributive or adjectival sense, but as this is beyond the scope of this thesis, Example 12 provides sentences using a noun that would be considered genitive rather than a derived adjective.

12. Examples of the Genitive Case

a. *huṭ hatɪ vaɣa **Alaṇa** šukuur u har ki ǰaan u*

huṭ	hatɪ	váɣa	**Ala**	**-ṇa**	šukuur	u
now	this.much	be. PRET.M.SG	**Allah**	**-GEN.M.SG**	thanks	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

har	ki	ǰaan	u
every	thing	enough	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'Now, thanks be to Allah, there is enough.'

b. *yak vaara **niiraṇa** a **baaleeṇa** mokaabla laago*

yak	vaara	**niir**	-a	-ṇa	ha	**baalee**	-ṇa
one	time	**sleep**	-OBL	-GEN.M.SG	CONJ	**wind.OBL**	-GEN.M.SG

mokaabla	laag	-o
competition	plant.PRET	-M.SG

'Once there was a competition between sleep and the wind'

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal Pronouns

Pronouns do not decline for gender of the referent, but do decline for person, number, and—in the third person—deixis. Below, Table 17 provides the declensional paradigms for personal pronouns.

Table 17: Mankiyali Personal Pronouns

	DIR	OBL	ERG	DAT	ABL
1SG	ma	ma	mi	maz	mãĩ
2SG	tu	tu	ti	tuz	tuĩ
3SG.PROX	hĩ	ii	i	iiz	iyĩ
3SG.DIST	hɪ	ee	i	eez	ẽẽĩ
3SG.INV	so	taa	ti	taaz	tããĩ
1PL	am	amõ	am	amõz	amõĩ
2PL	tom	tomõ	tom	tomõz	tomõĩ
3PL.PROX	hĩ	yõõ	yõõ	yõõz	yõĩ

| 3PL.DIST | hɪ | yõõ | yõõ | yõõz | yõĩ |
| 3PL.INV | so | tyõõ | tyõõ | tyõõz | tyõĩ |

adapted from Munshi & Aurangzeb (n.p.)

The forms of the pronouns, both phonologically and in terms of the tripartite deictic distinction, are unusual in the region, and unattested in Hindko (Bashir & Conners, 2019) and Shina (Schmidt & Kohistani, 2008), but parallels are attested in Kashmiri, as illustrated below in Table 18.

Table 18: Kashmiri Direct Case 3rd Person Personal Pronouns

	1	2	3.PROX	3.DIST	3.INV
M.SG	bɨ	cɨ	yi	hu	su
F.SG	bɨ	cɨ	yi	hɔ	sɔ
M.PL	əsʸ	tohʸ	yi	he	so
M.PL	əsʸ	tohʸ	yimɨ	humɨ	timɨ

2.3.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are morphologically oblique pronouns with the genitive suffix attached. These pronouns decline identically to genitive nouns. Table 19 provides a complete paradigm for possessive pronouns.

Table 19: Mankiyali Possessive Pronoun Paradigms

M.SG.DIR	F.DIR	M.PL.DIR	M.SG.OBL	F.OBL	M.PL.OBL	M.SG.VOC	F.SG.VOC	PL.VOC
mɪṇa	mɪɪṇ	mɪṇi	mɪṇi	mɪɪṇ	mɪɪṇ	mɪṇya	mɪṇyee	mɪṇyĩ̃
toṇa	tooṇ	toṇi	toṇi	tooṇ	tooṇ	toṇya	toṇyee	toṇyĩ̃
izaṇa	izaaṇ	izaṇi	izaṇi	izaaṇ	izaaṇ	izaṇya	izaṇyee	izaṇyĩ̃
azaṇa	azaaṇ	azaṇi	azaṇi	azaaṇ	azaaṇ	azaṇya	azaṇyee	azaṇyĩ̃
tazaṇa	tazaaṇ	tazaṇi	tazaṇi	tazaaṇ	tazaaṇ	tazaṇya	tazaṇyee	tazaṇyĩ̃
uṇa	uuṇ	uṇi	uṇi	uuṇ	uuṇ	uṇya	uṇyee	uṇyĩ̃
tuṇa	tuuṇ	tuṇi	tuṇi	tuuṇ	tuuṇ	tuṇya	tuṇyee	tuṇyĩ̃
yoṇa	yooṇ	yoṇi	yoṇi	yooṇ	yooṇ	yoṇya	yoṇyee	yoṇyĩ̃
yoṇa	yooṇ	yoṇi	yoṇi	yooṇ	yooṇ	yoṇya	yoṇyee	yoṇyĩ̃
tyoṇa	tyooṇ	tyoṇi	tyoṇi	tyooṇ	tyooṇ	tyoṇya	tyoṇyee	tyoṇyĩ̃

13. Example of the Possessive Pronoun

a. ***toṇi** hataz ž̃ǐ š̌ɪ yɪɪ kín*

toṇ	-i	hat	-a	-z	ž̃ǐ	š̌ɪ	yɪɪ
2SG.GEN	**- OBL.M.SG**	hand	-OBL	-DAT	what.DIR	thing	come.IMP.SG

kín
take.IMP.SG
'Come take what you can get ahold of'

2.3.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Mankiyali decline for case as do personal pronouns (see Table 20), but many, such as *čaa* 'what' are defective, i.e., lacking in forms. Additionally, *kaa* 'who', *kala* 'when', and *kut* 'where' may take a genitive ending, which declines appropriately.

Table 20: Mankiyali Interrogative Pronouns

	DIR	OBL	ERG	DAT	ABL
who	ko	kaa	kis	kaaz	kaaı̃
what	čaa	—	—	—	—
when	kala	kala	—	—	kalã ı̃
where	kut	kut	—	kut=zɪ	kutiyı̃
why	kõ	kı̃	—	kı̃ı̃z	kı̃yı̃
how	kano	katɪ	—	—	—

Adapted from Munshi & Aurangzeb (n.p.)

14. Examples of Interrogative Pronouns

a. *kɪtaab **ko** likʰãã*

kɪtaab	**ko**	likʰ	-ãã
book.DIR	**who.DIR**	write.IMPF	-PRS.M.SG

'Who is writing the book?'

b. *toṇa **čaa** nãã u?*

toṇ	-a	**čaa**	nãã	u
2SG.GEN	-M.SG.DIR	**what.DIR**	name	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'What is your name?'

c. *so **kala** yala?*

so	**kala**	ya	-la
3SG.INVIS.DIR	**when.DIR**	come.IMPF	-FUT.M.3SG

'When will he come?'

d. *so kut vɪ?*

so	**kut**	vɪ
3PL.INVIS.DIR	**where.DIR**	be.IMPF.PRS.PL

'Where are they?'

e. *tom kɪrĩ̃č zɪ **kõ** gɪɪ?*

tom	kɪrĩ̃č	=zɪ	**kõ**	gɪɪ
2PL.ERG	Karachi.OBL	=DAT	**why.DIR**	go.PRET.PL

'Why did you go to Karachi?'

f. *ti hatɪ mazɪdaar baryaani **kano** kaṛi?*

ti	hatɪ	mazɪdaar	baryaani	**kano**	kaṛ	-i
2SG.ERG	very	delicious.DIR	baryaani.DIR	**how.DIR**	cook.PRET	-F.SG

'How did you cook such delicious biryani?'

2.3.3 The Reflexive Pronoun

The Mankiyali reflexive pronoun *apaṇa* is directly cognate with its counterparts in Hindko, as well as other Indo-Aryan languages. Morphologically it derives from MIA appaa[20] 'self' with a genitive suffix.

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[20] (Turner, 1962: 51)

Table 21: The Mankiyali Reflexive Pronoun

	DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
M.SG	apaṇa	apaṇi	apaṇi	apaṇya
M.PL	apaṇi	apaṇi	apaṇi	apaṇyĩ̃
F.SG	apaaṇ	apɪɪṇ	apɪɪṇ	apɪṇyee
F.PL	apɪɪṇ	apɪɪṇ	apɪɪṇ	apɪṇyĩ̃

15. Examples of the Reflexive Pronoun

a. *ma **apaṇa** nãã likʰãã*

ma	**apaṇ**	**-a**	nãã	likʰ	-ãã
1SG.DIR	**own**	**-DIR.M.SG**	name	write.IMPF	-PRS.M.SG

'I'm writing my (own) name'

b. *taaz **apaṇa** kaam karaṇa u*

taa	-z	**apaṇ**	**-a**	kaam	kar	-aṇa	u
3SG.INVIS.OBL	-DAT	**own**	**-DIR.M.SG**	work	do	-INF	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'He has to do his work'

c. *tu huṭ amaz **apɪɪṇ** zabaana vã koɪ kisa šuṇɪ.*

tu	huṭ	am	-a	-z	**apɪɪṇ**	zabaan	-a	vã	koɪ
2SG.DIR	now	1PL	-OBL	-DAT	**own.OBL.F.SG**	tongue	-OBL	in	any

kis	-a	šuṇɪ
story	-M.SG.DIR	tell.IMP.SG

'Now tell us a story in your (own) language'

2.3.3 The Relative Pronoun

The relative pronoun *ž̃ɪ̃* 'whoever, whichever, whatever' does not take an overt case marking in any instance except for the dative.

Table 22: The Mankiyali Relative Pronoun

	DIR	OBL	ERG	DAT
M.SG	žĩ	žĩ	žĩ	žĩz
M.PL	žĩ	žĩ	žĩ	žĩz
F.SG	žĩ	žĩ	žĩ	žĩz
F.PL	žĩ	žĩ	žĩ	žĩz

16. Examples of the Relative Pronoun

a. *nuu tyõõ ta pɪɪnd vã yak mosaafar yanda pašu **žĩz** garam caadaar palɪtɪɪl aazĩ*

nuu	tyõõ	ta	pɪɪnd	vã	yak	-Ø	mosaafar	-Ø
then	3PL.INVIS.ERG	that.OBL	path.OBL	in	one	-DIR	traveller	-DIR

yand-	-a	paš	-u	**žĩ**	**-z**	garam	-Ø
come.PTCP	-M.SG	see.PRET	-M.SG	**whatever.OBL**	**-DAT**	warm	-DIR.F.SG

caadaar	palɪtɪɪl	aazĩ
shawl.DIR.SG	wrap.PTCP.F.SG	be.IMPF.PST.F.SG

'They saw a traveller coming on the path who was wrapped in a warm cloak'

b. ***žĩ** zaṇa aaz aavo, tazaṇa čaa nãã u?*

žĩ	zaṇ	-a	aaz	aav	-o	tazaṇ	-a
whichever.DIR	man	-DIR.M.SG	today	come.PRET	-M.SG	3SG.INVIS.GEN	-M.SG

čaa	nãã	u
what.DIR	name.DIR	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'Whichever man came today, what was his name?'

c. *hĩ so zaṇa u **žĩz** ti mobaail dito*

hĩ	so	zaṇ	-a	u	**žĩ**	**-z**
3SG.PROX.DIR	3SG.INVIS.DIR	man	-DIR.M.SG	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG	**which.OBL**	**-DAT**

ti	mobaail	dit	-o
2SG.ERG	mobile.phone	give.PRET	-M.SG

'This is the man who you gave your mobile phone to'

2.3.4 The Indefinite Pronoun

The indefinite pronoun *koɪ* is directly cognate with its counterparts in Punjabi and Hindi/Urdu (both *koii* 'any'). This pronoun does not overtly decline for case as illustrated by Table 23.

Table 23: The Mankiyali Indefinite Pronoun

	DIR	OBL	ERG
M.SG	koɪ	koɪ	koɪ
M.PL	koɪ	koɪ	koɪ
F.SG	koɪ	koɪ	koɪ
F.PL	koɪ	koɪ	koɪ

17. Example of the Indefinite Pronoun

*byaal **koɪ** aavo*

byaal	**koɪ**	aav	-o
yesteray	**any**	come.PRET	-M.SG

'Someone came (by) yesterday'

2.4 Summary

Nouns and pronouns in Mankiyali behave distinctly from their counterparts in contact languages such as Hindko and Urdu. With respect to Hindko, the distinct ergative case marking and stem-internal internal vowel mutation of stems that occurs in inflection, as well as the differing distribution of nominalizing affixes raise a number of questions regarding the ultimate genetic affiliation of Mankiyali. When compared to Lahnda Indo-Aryan and Hindi/Urdu (Central Indo-Aryan), the coalescence of the Layer II cases with the oblique noun stem, as well as the number of distinct declensional paradigms, and the presence of a distinct Layer I vocative case suffix in all instances except for Class IV and Class V singular is what sets Mankiyali declensional paradigms apart from their cognates in neighboring languages.

CHAPTER 3

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBIAL MODIFICATION

This chapter describes the inflectional paradigms associated with adjectives, as well as describing adverbial modification. Adverbs are etymologically complex, but their derivation will not be discussed in detail.

3.1 Adjectives

There are three classes of adjectives in Mankiyali. In this thesis, they are designated as Types, I, II, and III, respectively. Type I adjectives are obligatorily marked for case, number, and gender of the noun they modify. Type II adjectives solely decline to agree with plurality of the noun they modify. Type III adjectives do not overtly decline to agree with the noun they modify. Adjectives are notably less robust in case marking than nouns, with marked adjectives agreeing with the modified noun in gender, and number, but with distinct forms solely for Layer I cases. Adjectival concord is determined by the noun they modify. A noun in the direct case will take a direct adjective that agrees with the noun in number and gender; a noun in an oblique case (including the oblique case proper and Layer II cases that build on the oblique stem) will surface in the oblique case, again declining to agree with the gender and number of the noun.

3.1.1 Type I Adjectives

Mankiyali Type I adjectives are those that decline for person, case, and number to agree with the noun they modify. These adjectives are almost exclusively inherited from Old Indo-Aryan, or derived from other words using suffixes of Indo-Aryan origin. Adjectives in this class are affected by the same vowel harmony rule as Class II nouns in agreement with feminine nouns. In adjectives with a (C)u(u)Cu(u)C stem, both vowels must change to /i(i)/

in the feminine plural direct, and both the singular and plural of the feminine oblique and vocative.

Monosyllabic Type I adjective stems with syllable nuclei consisting of /aa/ undergo a shift to [ee] in feminine direct plural and in both numbers of the oblique and vocative, with a short nucleus /a/ shifting to [ɪ]. Polysyllabic Type I adjective stems with a final nucleus of /a(a)/ shift to [ɪ(ɪ)] unless the preceding syllable has an /ɪ(ɪ)/ nucleus (cf. *kʰaraṛa* 'rough.M.SG.DIR' → *kʰarɪɪṛ* 'rough.F.PL.DIR'; *muškɪyaala* 'smelly M.SG.DIR → *muškɪyeel* 'smelly.F.PL.DIR').

All Type I adjective stems with final syllable nuclei in /o(o)/ shift to [ɪ(ɪ)] in agreement with feminine forms other than the direct singular. Type I adjectives with stem-final syllabic nuclei consisting of /ɪ(ɪ)/ or /i(i)/ do not mutate, but do undergo a process of epenthetic vowel lengthening identical to other Type I adjectives. All aforementioned processes are outlined by examples in Table 24.

Table 24: Type I Adjective Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'black'	M.SG	kaala	kaali	kaali	kaalya
	M.PL	kaali	kaalyõ	kaalyõ	kaalyĩĩ
	F.SG	kaal	keel	keel	keelyee
	F.PL	keel	keelyõ	keelyõ	keelyĩĩ
'new'	M.SG	navã	navĩ	navĩ	navya
	M.PL	navĩ	navyõ	navyõ	navyĩĩ
	F.SG	nav	nɪv	nɪv	nɪvyee
	F.PL	nɪv	nɪvyõ	nɪvyõ	nɪvyĩĩ
'clean'	M.SG	sutura	suturi	suturi	suturya
	M.PL	suturi	suturyõ	suturyõ	suturyĩĩ
	F.SG	sutuur	sitiir	sitiir	sitiiryee
	F.PL	sitiir	sitiiryõ	sitiiryõ	sitiiryĩĩ
'big'	M.SG	tʰɪla	tʰɪli	tʰɪli	tʰɪlya
	M.PL	tʰɪli	tʰɪlyõ	tʰɪlyõ	tʰɪlyĩĩ
	F.SG	tʰɪɪl	tʰɪɪl	tʰɪɪl	tʰɪɪlyee
	F.PL	tʰɪɪl	tʰɪɪlyõ	tʰɪɪlyõ	tʰɪɪlyĩĩ
'long'	M.SG	ǰiga	ǰigi	ǰigi	ǰigya
	M.PL	ǰigi	ǰigyõ	ǰigyõ	ǰigyĩĩ
	F.SG	ǰiig	ǰiig	ǰiig	ǰiigyee
	F.PL	ǰiig	ǰiigyõ	ǰiigyõ	ǰiigyĩĩ

Below, Example 15 demonstrates two Type I adjectives agreeing with the case and gender of the noun they modify. Note that in Mankiyali, the semblative žɪṇa 'resemble, be like' is adjectival in contrast with the postpositional semblative found in Central Indo-Aryan languages.

15. Example of a Type I Adjective

*yak **nika žɪṇa** zaandaak aazũ.*

yak	-Ø	**nik**	**-a**	**žɪṇ**	**-a**	zaandaak	-Ø	aazũ
one	-DIR	**small**	**-M.SG.DIR**	**SEMBL**	**-M.SG.DIR**	boy	-DIR	be.IMPF.PST.M.SG

'There was a little boy'

3.1.2 Type II Adjectives

Type II adjectives do not undergo the stem vowel shifts attested in Type I. These adjectives end in a consonant in the direct singular and do not change form based on gender of the noun. These adjectives are the only class with a distinct ergative suffix, though

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it is only distinct in the singular /-i/. The direct plural, oblique singular, and all vocative

suffixes are /-a/. The oblique plural and ergative plural suffixes are both /-õ/.

Table 25: Type II Adjective Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'tall'	M.SG	učat	učata	učati	učata
	M.PL	učata	učatõ	učatõ	učata
	F.SG	učat	učata	učati	učata
	F.PL	učata	učatõ	učatõ	učata
'wrong'	M.SG	ɣalat	ɣalata	učati	ɣalata
	M.PL	ɣalata	ɣalatõ	učatõ	ɣalata
	F.SG	ɣalat	ɣalata	učati	ɣalata
	F.PL	ɣalata	ɣalatõ	učatõ	ɣalata

Example 16 demonstrates the Type II adjective declining for case without an overt gender

agreement.

16. Example of a Type II Adjective

*So **učata** mɪnara vã u*

so	**učat -a**	*mɪnar* -a	vã	u
3SG.INVIS.DIR	**tall -OBL**	tower -OBL	in	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'Someone came (by) yesterday'

3.1.3 Type III Adjectives

Type III adjectives consist of those adjectives that do not overtly decline to agree

with the noun they modify. This class of adjectives consists both of terms with an Indo-

Aryan origin, as well as terms that are ultimately borrowed into Mankiyali from other

languages.

Table 26: Type III Adjective Paradigms

		DIR	OBL	ERG	VOC
'good'	M.SG	šu	šu	šu	šu
	M.PL	šu	šu	šu	šu
	F.SG	šu	šu	šu	šu
	F.PL	šu	šu	šu	šu
'correct'	M.SG	saí[21]	saí	saí	saí
	M.PL	saí	saí	saí	saí
	F.SG	saí	saí	saí	saí
	F.PL	saí	saí	saí	saí
'far'	M.SG	duur	duur	duur	duur
	M.PL	duur	duur	duur	duur
	F.SG	duur	duur	duur	duur
	F.PL	duur	duur	duur	duur

Type III adjectives are the most morphologically simple adjectives in Mankiyali. Example 17 demonstrates that these adjectives do not decline overtly to agree with the modified phrase.

17. Example of a Type III Adjective

a. hĩ **saí** u
   hĩ   **saí**   u
   3SG.PROX.DIR   correct   be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG
   'This is correct'

b. **šu** piiš
   šu   piiš
   good   cat.PL.DIR
   'good cats'

The presence of distinct vocative case adjective forms is remarkable, and stands in stark contrast with systems of adjectival marking of vocativity attested in other Indo-Aryan languages. Languages in the central and Lahnda subgroup of the North-western clusters employ an oblique adjective in concord with the vocative noun, which is either Layer I (as in

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[21] U. /sahii(h)/ ⟨صحیح⟩, ultimately from Ar. ⟨صحیح⟩ /sˤaħiiħ/

Hindi/Urdu) or II (as in Punjabi or Hindko) respectively. Kohistani Shina employs the direct

case adjective with direct case nouns in vocative utterances and are essentially

morphologically unmarked (Schmidt & Kohistani, 2008: 40). In contrast, the system of

vocative marking on adjectives in Kashmiri is most similar morphologically to that of

Mankiyali, with a distinct Layer I vocative noun suffix and a distinct vocative adjectival suffix.

3.2 Adverbs and Adverbial Modification

Adverbs exist as a discrete grammatical category in Mankiyali alongside other

categories such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Table 27 provides a selection of adverbs

without regard for derivational processes. Simple adverbs contrast from postpositional

phrases by the fact that adverbs do not assign case.

Table 27: Mankiyali Adverbs

Mankiyali	Gloss
aaz	'today'
aza	'up'
bona	'down'
farza	'tomorrow'
ciir	'early'
huž	'late'
huṭ	'now'
damidami	'slowly'

Mankiyali adverbs serve both spatial and temporal functions. Example 18 demonstrates the

inflectional contrast between locative postposition and adverb in Mankiyali.

18. Examples of Mankiyali Adverbs

a. *taaĩ baad niiraz manǰu kɪ **huṭ** apaṇa hat caree*

taa	-ĩ	baad	niir	-a	-z	manǰ	-u	kɪ	**huṭ**
3SG.INVIS.OBL	-ABL	after	sleep	-OBL	-DAT	say	-PRET.M.SG	that	**now**

apaṇa	hat	car	-ee
own.M.SG.DIR	hand.DIR	try.PRET	-PASS.M.SG

After that, sleep was asked to try its hand

b. *so **bona** u*

so	**bona**	u
3SG.INVIS.DIR	**down**	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'He/she/it is downstairs [lit. down]'

c. *so **aza** u*

so	**aza**	u
3SG.INVIS.DIR	**up**	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'He/she/it is upstairs [lit. up]'

3.3 Quantifiers and Numerals

3.3.1 Quantifiers

Mankiyali quantifiers cross a number of grammatical categories; they consist of adjectives, numerals, and determiners. The list in Table 28 is not exhaustive, but provides a general overview. Quantifiers do not decline overtly for case, with the exception of *yak* 'one' when it serves as an indefinite marker.

Table 28: Mankiyali Quantifiers

Quantifier	Gloss
xašɪ[22]	'some'
ki	'some'
yak	'one'
koɪ	'any'
na	'no, none'

Below, Example 19 illustrates a selection of these quantifiers in context.

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[22] *ki paaṇii* and *xašɪ paaṇii* (both, 'some water') but not **xašɪ zaandaka* 'some boys'

19. Examples of Quantifiers

a. *so **koɪ** kaam karãã kɪ na?*
so	**koɪ**	kaam	kar	-ãã	kɪ	na
3SG.INVIS.DIR	**any**	work	do.IMPF	-PRS.M.SG	that	NEG

   'Does he have any job or not?'

b. ***ki** zaandaka*
ki	zaandak	-a
some	boy	-DIR.PL

   'some boys'

c. ***ki** paaṇii*
ki	paaṇii	-∅
some	water	-DIR

   'some water'

d. ***xašɪ** paaṇii*
xašɪ	paaṇii	-∅
some	water	-DIR

   'some water'

3.3.2 Cardinal Numerals

Mankiyali numerals follow a vigesimal system: numbers greater than twenty are structured as multiples of twenty (cf. *daž a du biž* 'fifty (lit., ten-and-two-twenty). This system is additionally attested in Burushaski (Munshi, 2018) and some rural varities of Hindko (Bashir & Conners, 2019). Mankiyali cardinal numerals behave as Class I nouns and decline as such, i.e., they exhibit a distinct oblique singular and plural form, but due to phonological overlap of the oblique plural and ergative plural /-õ/ suffix, the ergative is not distinct from the oblique except for *yaki* 'one'. Cardinal numerals greater than one are invariably plural except in formation of numerals greater than 20 that take a postposition (cf. 70 and 90 in Table 30).

Table 29
Cardinal Numerals 1-20

	DIR	OBL	ERG
1	yak	yaka	yaki
2	du	duvõ	duvõ
3	čaa	čɪyõ	čɪyõ
4	coor	covõ	covõ
5	panz	panzõ	panzõ
6	ša	šavõ	šavõ
7	sat	satõ	satõ
8	aṭʰ	aṭʰõ	aṭʰõ
9	no	novõ	novõ
10	daž	dažõ	dažõ
11	yaarõ	yaarõ	yaarõ
12	baarõ	baarõ	baarõ
13	teerõ	teerõ	teerõ
14	sodaž	sodažõ	sodažõ
15	pandrõ	pandrõ	pandrõ
16	š ooraž	šooražõ	šooražõ
17	seyaarõ	seyaarõ	seyaarõ
18	araaṛõ	araaṛõ	araaṛõ
19	uniž	unižõ	unižõ
20	biž	bižõ	bižõ

Table 30
Cardinal Numerals 21-99

	DIR	OBL
21	yak a biž	yak a bižõ
30	daž a biž	daž a bižõ
40	du biž	du bižõ
50	daž a du biž	daž a du bižõ
60	čaa biž	čaa bižõ
70	daža mat čaa biž	daža mat čaa bižõ
80	coor biž	coor bižõ
90	daža mat coor biž	daža mat coor bižõ

As illustrated below in Example 20, cardinal numerals greater than one take the plural form

of a noun.

20. Examples of Mankiyali Cardinal Numerals

a. *yaki niki zaandaki xašɪ paaṇii pii ɣalu*

yak	-i	nik	-i	zaandak	-i	xašɪ	paaṇii
one	**-ERG**	small	-ERG	boy	-ERG	INDEF	water.DIR.M.SG

pii	ɣal	-u
drink	AUX.PERF.PST	-M.SG

'A small boy has drunk some water'

b. *coor saŋga yaka pɪɪnd vã tilīĩzvĩ*

coor	saŋg	-a	yak	-a	vã	til	-ĩĩ	-zvĩ
four.DIR	**friend**	**-PL.DIR**	one	-OBL	in	go	-IMPF	-PST.PL

'Four friends were going along a path'

     Above 10,000, Mankiyali numerals follow the traditional South Asian division of multiples of hundred-thousands. This system is pervasive regionally, and surfaces in Englishes spoken in South Asia as well as indigenous languages of the region. In local notation, after 10,000, the convention is to separate every two digits as opposed to every three. This thesis will use western digit separators, but South Asian notation will be noted when appropriate.

Table 31 Cardinal Numerals 100 and Greater

	DIR	OBL
100	šaay	šaayõ
101	yak a šaay	yak a šaayõ
1,000	hazaar	hazaarõ
1,001	yak a hazaar	yak a hazaarõ
10,000	daž hazaar	daž hazaarõ
100,000[23]	lak	lakõ
1,000,000	daž lak	daž lakõ
10,000,000	korooṛ	korooṛõ
100,000,000	daž korooṛ	daž korooṛõ
1,000,000,000	arab	arabõ
1,000,000,000,000	kʰarab	kʰarabõ

3.3.3 Ordinal Numerals

Mankiyali ordinal numerals function as adjectives. Aside from *muɣrĩ* 'first', which is unmarked for case and thus a Type III adjective, all ordinal numbers behave as Type I adjectives, i.e., they decline for Layer I case, gender, and number of the noun they modify, with identical oblique and ergative forms.

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[23] 1,00,000 'one lakh'
10,00,000 'ten lakh(s)'
1,00,00,000 'one crore'
10,00,00,000 'ten crore(s)'
1,00,00,00,000 'one arab'
1,00,00,00,00,000 'one kharab'

Table 32: Ordinal Numerals 1-20

	M.SG.DIR	F.SG.DIR	PL.DIR	M.SG.OBL/ERG	F.SG.OBL/ERG	PL.OBL/ERG	M.SG.VOC	F.SG.VOC	PL.VOC
1	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ	muɣrĩ
2	bɪɪra	bɪɪr	bɪɪri	bɪɪri	bɪɪr	bɪɪryõ	bɪɪrya	bɪɪryee	bɪɪrĩĩ
3	čɪɪra	čɪɪr	čɪɪri	čɪɪri	čɪɪr	čɪɪryõ	čɪɪrya	čɪɪryee	čĩĩryĩĩ
4	coɽa	coɽ	coɽi	coɽi	cɪɪɽ	cɪɪɽyõ	coɽya	cɪɪɽyee	coɽĩĩ
5	panzavã	panzã̃v	panzãvĩ	panzãvĩ	panzĩ̃v	panzĩvyõ	panzãvya	panzĩyee	panzĩĩvyĩĩ
6	šaaṭa	šaaṭ	šaaṭi	šaaṭi	šeeṭ	šaaṭyõ	šaaṭya	šeeṭyee	šeeṭyĩĩ
7	satavã	satã̃v	satãvĩ	satãvĩ	satĩ̃v	satãvyõ	satãvyã	satĩĩvyee	satĩĩvyĩĩ
8	aṭʰavã	aṭʰã̃v	aṭʰãvĩ	aṭʰãvĩ	aṭʰĩ̃v	aṭʰãvyõ	aṭʰãvya	aṭʰĩĩvyee	aṭʰĩĩvyĩĩ
9	nohavã	nohã̃v	nohãvĩ	nohãvĩ	nohĩ̃v	nohãvyõ	nohãvya	nohĩĩvye	nohĩĩvyĩĩ
10	dažavã	dažã̃v	dažãvĩ	dažãvĩ	dažĩ̃v	dažãvyõ	dažãvyã	dažĩĩvyee	dažĩĩvyĩĩ
11	yááravã	yáárã̃v	yáárãvi	yáárãvi	yáárĩ̃v	yáárãvyõ	yáárãvyã	yáárãvyee	yáárãvyĩĩ
12	baaravã	baarã̃v	baarãvi	baarãvi	baarĩ̃v	baarãvyõ	baarãvyã	barĩĩvyee	barĩĩvyĩĩ
13	tɪɪravã	tɪɪrã̃v	tɪɪrãvi	tɪɪrãvi	tɪɪrĩ̃v	tɪɪrãvyõ	tɪɪrãvyã	tɪɪrĩĩvyee	tɪɪrĩĩvyĩĩ
14	sodažavã	sodžã̃v	sodžãvi	sodžãvi	sodžĩ̃v	sodžãvyõ	sodžãvyã	sodžĩĩvyee	sodžĩĩvyĩĩ
15	pandravã	pandrã̃v	pandrãvi	pandrãvi	pandrĩ̃v	pandrãvyõ	pandrãvyã	pandrĩĩvyee	pandrĩĩvyĩĩ
16	šooražavã	šooɽžã̃v	šooɽžãvi	šooɽžãvi	šooɽžĩ̃v	šooɽžãvyõ	šooɽžãvyã	šooɽžĩĩvyee	šooɽžĩĩvyĩĩ
17	seyaaravã	syaarã̃v	syaarãvi	syaarãvi	syaarĩ̃v	syaarãvyõ	syaarãvyã	syaarĩĩvyee	syaarĩĩvyĩĩ
18	araaɽavã	araaɽã̃v	araaɽãvi	araaɽãvi	araaɽĩ̃v	araaɽãvyõ	araaɽãvyã	araaɽĩĩvyee	araaɽĩĩvyĩĩ
19	unžavã	unžã̃v	unžãvi	unžãvi	unžĩ̃v	unžãvyõ	unžãvyã	unžĩĩvyee	unžĩĩvyĩĩ
20	bižavã	bižã̃v	bižãvi	bižãvi	bižĩ̃v	bižãvyõ	bižãvyã	bižĩĩvyee	bižĩĩvyĩĩ

Table 33: Ordinal Numerals 21-99

	M.SG.DIR	F.SG.DIR	PL.DIR	M.SG.OBL/ERG	F.SG.OBL/ERG	PL.OBL/ERG	M.SG.VOC	F.SG.VOC	PL.VOC
21	yak a bižavã	yak a bižããv	yak a bižãvi	yak a bižãvi	yak a bižĩĩv	yak a bižãvyõ	yak a bižãvyã	yak a bižĩĩvyee	yak a bižĩĩvyĩĩ
30	daž a biž	daž a bižããv	daž a bižãvi	daž a bižãvi	daž a bižĩĩv	daž a bižãvyõ	daž a bižãvyã	daž a bižĩĩvyee	daž a bižĩĩvyĩĩ
40	du bižavã	du bižããv	du bižãvi	du bižãvi	du bižĩĩv	du bižãvyõ	du bižãvyã	du bižĩĩvyee	du bižĩĩvyĩĩ
50	daž a du bižavã	daž a du bižããv	daž a du bižãvi	daž a du bižãvi	daž a du bižĩĩv	daž a du bižãvyõ	daž a du bižãvyã	daž a du bižĩĩvyee	daž a du bižĩĩvyĩĩ
60	čaa bižavã	čaa bižããv	čaa bižãvi	čaa bižãvi	čaa bižĩĩv	čaa bižãvyõ	čaa bižãvyã	čaa bižĩĩvyee	čaa bižĩĩvyĩĩ
70	daža mat čaa bižavã	daža mat čaa bižããv	daža mat čaa bižãvi	daža mat čaa bižãvi	daža mat čaa bižĩĩv	daža mat čaa bižãvyõ	daža mat čaa bižãvyã	daža mat čaa bižĩĩvyee	daža mat čaa bižĩĩvyĩĩ
80	coor bižavã	coor bižããv	coor bižãvi	coor bižãvi	coor bižĩĩv	coor bižãvyõ	coor bižãvyã	coor bižĩĩvyee	coor bižĩĩvyĩĩ
90	daža mat coor bižavã	daža mat coor bižããv	daža mat coor bižãvi	daža mat coor bižãvi	daža mat coor bižĩĩv	daža mat coor bižãvyõ	daža mat coor bižãvyã	daža mat coor bižĩĩvyee	daža mat coor bižĩĩvyĩĩ

Table 34: Ordinal Numerals 100 and Greater

	M.SG.DIR	F.SG.DIR	PL.DIR	M.SG.OBL	F.SG.OBL	PL.OBL	M.SG.VOC	F.SG.VOC	PL.VOC
100	šaayavã	šaayããv	šaayavi	šaayavi	šaayĩĩv	šaayãvyõ	šaayãvyã	šaayãvyee	šaayãvyĩĩ
101	yak a šaayavã	yak a šaayããv	yak a šaayavi	yak a šaayavi	yak a šaayĩĩv	yak a šaayãvyõ	yak a šaayãvyã	yak a šaayãvyee	yak a šaayãvyĩĩ
1,000	hazaaravã	hazaarããv	hazaarãvi	hazaarãvi	hazaarĩĩv	hazaarãvyõ	hazaarãvyã	hazaarãvyee	hazaarãvyĩĩ
1,001	yak a hazaar	yak a hazaarããv	yak a hazaarãvi	yak a hazaarãvi	yak a hazaarĩĩv	yak a hazaarãvyõ	yak a hazaarãvyõ	yak a hazaarãvyee	yak a hazaarãvyĩĩ
10,000	daž hazaar	daž hazaarããv	daž hazaarãvi	daž hazaarãvi	daž hazaarĩĩv	daž hazaaravyõ	daž hazaarãvyã	daž hazaarãvyee	daž hazaarãvyee
100,000	lakavã	lakavããv	lakãvi	lakãvi	lakĩĩv	lakavyõ	lakãvyã	lakãvyee	lakãvyĩĩ
1 million	daž lakavã	daž lakavããv	daž lakãvi	daž lakãvi	daž lakĩĩv	daž lakãvyõ	daž lakavyã	daž lakavyee	daž lakavyĩĩ
10 million	kooroṛavã	kooroṛããv	kooroṛãvi	kooroṛãvi	kooroṛĩĩv	kooroṛãvyõ	kooroṛãvyã	kooroṛãvyee	kooroṛãvyĩĩ
1 hundred million	daž kooroṛavã	daž kooroṛããv	daž kooroṛãvi	daž kooroṛãvi	daž kooroṛĩĩv	daž kooroṛãvyõ	daž kooroṛãvyã	daž kooroṛãvyee	daž kooroṛãvyĩĩ
1 billion	arabavã	arabããv	arabãvi	arabãvi	arabãvĩĩv	arabãvyõ	arabãvyã	arabãvyee	arabãvyĩĩ
1 trillion	kʰarabavã	kʰarabããv	kʰarabãvi	kʰarabãvi	kʰarabãvĩĩv	kʰarabãvyõ	kʰarabãvyã	kʰarabãvyee	kʰarabãvyĩĩ

Example 21, below, provides an example of *čɪɪra* 'third' behaving as a Type I adjective.

21. Examples of Mankiyali Ordinal Numerals

čɪɪra *nambar kazaṇa u?*

čɪɪr	**-a**	nam	kazaṇ	-a	u
third	**-DIR.M.SG**	number.DIR	who.GEN	-DIR.M.SG	be.IMPF.PST.M.SG

'Who's the third number?'

3.4 Summary

Adjectives and adverbs are a rich source of inflectional data, with adjectives displaying a number of features that are not shared by any known contact language. The ergative and vocative declensions, as well as the inflectional processes that stems undergo, are unattested in Lahnda languages (Bashir & Conners, 2019).

CHAPTER 4

POSTPOSITIONS

Mankiyali postpositions are distinguished from adverbs in that they assign a case other than the direct to the noun phrase they modify. In Mankiyali, postpositions primarily assign the oblique case to the noun phrase, but there is one attested nominal postposition that assigns the ablative case *baad* 'after' which is borrowed.[24] There is also one attested non-locative postposition, *žoɣ* 'for'. Each postposition described in this chapter is explicitly marked with the case it assigns to a noun phrase in the heading. Table 35 provides the attested postpositions in Mankiyali, as well as the case they assign. Glossed examples of these postpositions in context, along with a description of their individual uses are provided in the next section, 4.1 Locative Relations.

Table 35: Attested Postpositions in Mankiyali

Postposition	Case Assigned	Gloss
agul	OBL	'before'
baad	ABL	'after'
dan	OBL	'under'
ɣã	OBL	'until'
mat	OBL	'above'
mazar	OBL	'in'
mɪnaa	OBL	'with'
nɪṇ	OBL	'near'
vã	OBL	'in'
var	OBL	'towards'
žoɣ	OBL	'for'

There is one attested non-locative postposition in Mankiyali, *žoɣ* 'like, on behalf of'. Mankiyali is notable in that a number of concepts that are conveyed with a postpositional

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[24] U. *baad* ⟨بعد⟩, from Ar. *baʕd(a)* ⟨بَعْدَ⟩

phrase in other Indo-Aryan languages are instead expressed with an adjective as in *žɩṇa*

'resembling' (contrast with Hindi/Urdu -OBL *saa* 'resembling').

22. Examples of *žoɣ* 'for'

a. *mi tu žoɣ káṛ kini*

mi	tu	žoɣ	káṛ	-Ø	kin	-i
1SG.ERG	2SG.OBL	for	watch	-DIR	take.PRET	-F.SG

'I bought a watch for you'

b. *taa žoɣ ča aṇ.*

taa	žoɣ	ča	aṇ
3SG.INVIS.OBL	for	tea.DIR	bring.IMP.SG

'Bring him tea.'

4.1 Locative Relations

Locative relations in Mankiyali are primarily expressed through postpositions.

Postpositions may either convey literal position, or figurative concepts that are semantically

related.

4.1.1 *agul* 'before'

In Mankiyali, *agul* 'before' represents a number of possible meanings. It conveys

both spatial and temporal relations.

23. Example of *agul* 'before'

goṛa agul yak buuṭa u.

goṛ	-a	agul	yak	-Ø	buuṭ	-a	u
house	-OBL	before	one	-DIR	tree	-DIR	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'There is a tree in front of the house'

4.1.2 *baad* 'after'

The postposition baad 'after' is notable in that it is grammatically a noun. As such, it

assigns the ablative case to the noun phrase it follows.

24. Example of *baad* 'after'

aazaĩ baad hĩ kaam toṇi zimi u.

aaz	-a	-ĩ	baad	hĩ	kaam	toṇ	-i
today	-OBL	-ABL	after	3SG.PROX.DIR	work	2SG.GEN	-PL

zim	-i	u
responsibility	-DIR.PL	be.3SG.M.PRS

'After today, this is your responsibility.'

4.1.3 *dan* 'under'

　　dan 'under' is used to indicate that the modified noun phrase is below something.

This may additionally be used figuratively.

25. Example of *dan* 'under'

mɪɪza dan puuš i

mɪɪz	-a	dan	puuš	-∅	-i
table	-OBL	under	cat	-DIR	be.IMPF.PRS.F.SG

'There is a cat under the table.'

4.1.4 *ɣã* 'until'

　　The postposition *ɣã* 'until' expresses a terminative function, primarily in a locative

sense. Following with kut 'where.OBL', this postposition additionally conveys the sense of

'how far', lit. 'until where'.

26. Example of *ɣã* 'until'

ti hĩ kɪtaab kut ɣã paṛi?

ti	hĩ	kɪtaab	kut	ɣã	paṛ	-i
2SG.ERG	3SG.PROX	book	where.OBL	until	read.PERF	-PST.F.SG

'How far have you read in this book?'

4.1.5 *mat* 'on'

The postposition mat is used in a number of ways. In addition to being locative as illustrated below, it may additionally serve an instrumental function regarding methods of transportation that are ridden on, such as a bicycle (see 2.2.3.2 The Ablative for a contrastive example).

27. Example of *mat* 'on'

mɪɪza mat kɪtaab i

mɪɪz	-a	mat	kɪtaab	-∅	-i
table	-OBL	on	book	-DIR	be.IMPF.PRS.F.SG

'There is a book on the table'

4.1.6 *mɪnaa* 'with'

mɪnaa 'with' expresses primarily a comitative function, indicating that the noun phrase it modifies is, was, or will accompany something else. This is distinct from the instrumental which is denoted with the ablative case instead of a postposition.[25]

28. Example of *mɪnaa* 'with'

taa mɪnaa ko aazũ?

taa	mɪnaa	ko	aazũ
3SG.INVIS.OBL	with	who.DIR	be.IMPF.PST.M.SG

'Who was with you?'

4.2.7 *nɪŋ* 'near'

The postposition *nɪŋ* 'near' expresses something near to the noun or pronoun it modifies. It has extensive use both in spatial relations, but also in a possessive construction.

29. Examples of *nɪŋ* 'near'

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[25] Contrast with H/U *see* ⟨से⟩/⟨ﺳﮯ⟩

a. *toṇa mobaail kampuṭara nɪṇ u*

toṇ	-a	mobaail	-Ø	kampuṭar	-a	nɪṇ	u
2SG.GEN	-M.SG	mobile.phone	-DIR	computer	-OBL	near	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'Your mobile is near the computer'

b. *ma nɪṇ yak kɪtaab i*

ma	nɪṇ	yak	kɪtaab	-Ø	i
1SG.OBL	NEAR	one	book	-DIR	be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG

'I have a book'

4.2.8 *vã* and *mazar* 'in'

There are two postpositions that express the inessive 'in' or 'inside': *vã* and *mazar*. In addition to being a postposition, *mazar* is a noun meaning 'center'. There appears to be no significant semantic difference between the two in a locative sense, with the choice of which postposition to use being a matter of pragmatics.

30. Examples of *vã* and *mazar* 'in'

a. *siira vã čiini dɪ*

siir	-a	vã	čiini	-Ø	dɪ
milk	2SG.OBL	in	sugar	-dir	give.IMP.SG

'Put the sugar in the milk.'

b. *siira mazar čiini dɪ*

siir	-a	mazar	čiini	-Ø	dɪ
milk	2SG.OBL	in	sugar	-dir	give.IMP.SG

'Put the sugar in the milk.'

c. *ma izaṇi baari vã sočãã rɪvoo*

ma	izaṇ	-i	baar	-i	vã
1SG.DIR	3SG.PROX.GEN	-M.SG.OBL	regarding	-OBL	in

soč	-ãã	rɪv	-oo
think	-M.SG	CONT	-M.SG

'I have been thinking about this.'

4.2.9 *var* 'towards'

var 'towards' is a postposition that is employed either to express 'towards' or 'at'.

The example below could alternately be translated as 'look at me' or 'look towards me',

both using the postposition *var*.

31. Example of *var* 'towards'

ma var páál
ma   var   páál
1SG.OBL   towards   look.IMP.SG
'Look at/towards me.'

4.3 Summary

Mankiyali postpositions primarily exist within the realm of locative relations. The

structures involved in postpositions and the means by which they modify their noun phrases

are common to New Indo-Aryan languages. The use of the ablative with nominal

postpositions is unusual; in Central and North-western Indo-Aryan languages, nominal

postpositions generally must be preceded by a genitive marker that itself is in the oblique.

Consultants noted that use of the genitive in these structures renders the phrase

ungrammatical.

CHAPTER 5

VERBS

This chapter describes the formation of Tense–Aspect–Mood and Person–Number–Gender distinction in Mankiyali verbs. This section additionally touches on impersonal forms (i.e., the infinitive) and the auxiliary verbs and morphemes that are used to express these distinctions, but the syntactic processes relating to auxiliaries and compound verb formation are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Mankiyali verbs conjugate for person, number, gender tense, aspect, and mood. The verb system follows the almost complete reform of the Old Indo-Aryan verbal system, with a number of historic verbs being bleached of their semantic meaning and becoming completely grammaticalized by Middle Indo-Aryan (Bubeník, 1998: 104). This holds true in Mankiyali, where auxiliaries such as *vaṇa* 'to be' are used in formation of the past perfect indicative.

5.1 Stem Alternation

There are three attested classes of stem alternation in Mankiyali. Class I stems are identical in the imperfect and preterite (*páál-; páál-* 'see'). Class II stems show phonological alternation between the stems used in the imperfect and preterit (*kar-; kiṛ-* 'do'); Class III stems are highly irregular with complete suppletion of the stem (*til-; gaa-* 'go'). The infinitive is derived through the suffixation of *-aṇa* to the imperfect stem. Stems consisting of a single short vowel /i/ or /u/ become approximants as in *vaṇa* 'to be' (underlyingly /u-aṇa/) and *yaṇa* 'to come' (underlyingly /i-aṇa/). Table 36 provides a summary of the previously outlined classification system.

Table 36: Verb Stem Classifications

Gloss	Class	Imperfect	Preterite
'see'	I	páál-	páál-
'eat'	I	kʰɪ-	kʰɪ-
'do'	II	kar-	kiɽ-
'come'	II	iɣ-	aav-
'go'	III	til-	gaa-
'be'	III	u-	hu-

5.1 *Vaṇa* 'to be'

The verb *vaṇa* 'to be' is a highly irregular Class III verb and is employed in a vast array of contexts. On its own as a core verb, it may serve a copular or stative function, but forms of *vaṇa* also serve as an auxiliary in construction of the perfect past alongside the stem of other verbs. *Vaṇa* 'to be' is additionally unusual in that there is a pragmatically motivated emphatic form of the present imperfect: *tʰu* in masculine singular, *tʰi* in feminine singular, and *tʰvɪ* in plural regardless of gender. The exact parameters that condition use of this form have yet to be explored and are beyond the scope of this work. Below, Table 37 provides the full conjugational paradigm for *vaṇa* 'to be'.

Table 37: Conjugation Paradigm of *vaṇa* 'to be'

Mood	Tense Aspect		Singular			Plural		
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
IND	IMPF.PRS	M	u	u	u	ʋɪ	ʋɪ	ʋɪ
		F	(v)i	(v)i	(v)i	ʋɪ	ʋɪ	ʋɪ
	IMPF.PST	M	aazũ	aazũ	aazũ	aazvĩ	aazvĩ	aazvĩ
		F	aazĩ	aazĩ	aazĩ	aazvĩ	aazvĩ	aazvĩ
	IMPF.FUT	M	vaṇa	vála	víṇi	vílɪ	víṇi	víṇi
		F	vaṇ	vál	víṇi	vílɪ	víṇi	víṇi
	PRET	M	huvo	huvo	huvo	huvee	huvee	huvee
		F	huvi	huvi	huvi	huvee	huvee	huvee
	PERF.PRS	M	váɣa	váɣa	váɣa	váɣee	váɣee	váɣee
		F	váɣai	váɣa	váɣa	váɣee	váɣee	váɣee
	PERF.PST	M	váɣa aazũ	váɣa aazũ	váɣa aazũ	váɣee aazvẽ	váɣee aazvẽ	váɣee aazvẽ
		F	váɣai aazĩ	váɣai aazĩ	váɣai aazĩ	váɣee aazvẽ	váɣee aazvẽ	váɣee aazvẽ
SUBJ	PRS	M	víí	víí	víí	víž	viṇa	viṇa
		F	víí	víí	víí	víž	viṇa	viṇa
	PST	M	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ
		F	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ	víɣõ
IMP	PRS	M	—	ho	—	—	viya	—
		F	—	ho	—	—	viya	—

5.2 Tense–Aspect–Mood

The Mankiyali verb conjugates for person, number, gender, as well as tense, aspect, and mood. Table 38 provides a complete conjugation paradigm of karaṇa 'to do'. In the indicative imperfect present, imperfect past, preterite, and present perfect, there is no overt conjugation for person. Instead, the verb conjugates for number and gender of the subject when intransitive, the agent when imperfect and transitive, or the object when perfect and transitive. In the past perfect, the verb only conjugates according to gender; in the imperfect future, the verb conjugates for person, gender, and number, with second and third persons taking identical suffixes. The subjunctive present is formed with suffixes that are identical in the first- and second-persons without regard for gender of the noun the verb

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agrees with, while in the plural, the suffixes in the second- and third-persons are identical, but distinct from the first-person suffix. In the subjunctive past, the suffix is invariably *-yõ*.

Table 38: Conjugation Paradigm of *karaṇa* 'to do'

Mood	Tense Aspect		Singular			Plural		
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
IND	IMPF.PRS	M	karãã	karãã	karãã	karĩ	karĩ	karĩ
		F	karãĩ	karãĩ	karãĩ	karĩ	karĩ	karĩ
	IMPF.PST	M	karããzõ	karããzõ	karããzõ	karããzvĩ	karããzvĩ	karããzvĩ
		F	karããzĭ	karããzĭ	karããzĭ	karããzvĩ	karããzvĩ	karããzvĩ
	IMPF.FUT	M	karaṇa	karala	karala	karilɪ	kariṇi	kariṇi
		F	karaaṇ	karaal	karaal	karilɪ	kariṇi	kariṇi
	PRET	M	kiṛa	kiṛa	kiṛa	kiṛvɪ	kiṛvɪ	kiṛvɪ
		F	kiṛ	kiṛ	kiṛ	kiṛvɪ	kiṛvɪ	kiṛvɪ
	PERF.PRS	M	kar ɣalu	kar ɣalu	kar ɣalu	kar ɣalvee	kar ɣalvee	kar ɣalvee
		F	kar ɣali	kar ɣali	kar ɣali	kar ɣalvee	kar ɣalvee	kar ɣalvee
	PERF.PST	M	kar ɣalu aazũũ	kar ɣalu aazũũ	kar ɣalu aazũũ	kar ɣalu aazũũ	kar ɣalu aazũũ	kar ɣalu aazũũ
		F	kar ɣali eezĩĩ	kar ɣali eezĩĩ	kar ɣali eezĩĩ	kar ɣali eezĩĩ	kar ɣali eezĩĩ	kar ɣali eezĩĩ
SUBJ	PRS	M	karĩĩ	karĩĩ	karɪɪ	kariž	kariṇa	kariṇa
		F	karĩĩ	karĩĩ	karɪɪ	kariž	kariṇa	kariṇa
	PST	M	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ
		F	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ	karyõ
IMP	PRS	M	—	kar	—	—	karya	—
		F	—	kar	—	—	karya	—

As noted in Table 40, Indo-Aryan tense broadly consists of present, past, and future. This distinction is present in Mankiyali with aspect and mood interacting with tense to convey an array of possible nuance. When unmarked for aspect and mood, i.e., in the indicative imperfect, the verb conjugates for present, past, and future.

32. Examples of the Mankiyali Indicative

a. *muɣrĩ ko yala?*
    muɣrĩ   ko
    first.DIR   who.DIR
    'Who will come first?'

b. *tu čaa karãã?*
    tu   čaa
    2SG.DIR   what
    'What are you doing?'

     Verbal aspect is expressed in Mankiyali through both morphological and analytic means. Unusually for Indo-Aryan languages, In Mankiyali, there are two primary aspects: imperfect and perfect, which is significantly fewer than those attested in Hindi/Urdu or Punjabi, but similar to the number attested in Kashmiri. In Hindi/Urdu and Punjabi, the imperfect aspect manifests in a number of contrastive forms in both the present and past tenses including the habitual and continuous aspects. Mankiyali verbs are restricted to the imperfect and perfect, with the perfect consisting of both a preterite[26] form which exclusively conveys the past perfect. Additionally, there are separate past perfect and present perfect forms which use the auxiliary *ɣal-* 'AUX.PERF' in their construction. The continuous past is expressed with an auxiliary, but this aspect is exclusive to the past tense.

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[26] Equivalent to the Hindko 'simple perfect' described by Bashir & Conners (2019: 309)

33. Examples of the Mankiyali Aspectual Distinction

a. *muɣrĩ farzaĩ am vaxti ž̌ɪ tʰu tɪ **aavi**.*
muɣrĩ	farz	-a	-ĩ	am	vaxti	ž̌ɪ tʰu tɪ	**aavi**
first.OBL	morning	-OBL.SG	-ABL	1PL.ERG	early	PTCL	**come.PRET.M.PL**
    'First, we came early in the morning'

b. *meel pɪɪɖ kʰɪ ɣalu.*
meel	pɪɪɖ	-Ø	**kʰɪ**	ɣal	-u
mother.ERG.SG	food	-DIR.SG	**eat**	AUX.PERF.PST	-M.SG
    'The mother ate the food'

c. *ma laahora mazar yasiin mila vã kaam **karã̃ãzõ***
ma	laahor	-a	mazar	yasiin.mil	-a	vã	kaam
1SG.DIR	Lahore	-OBL	inside	Yaseen.Mill	-OBL	in	work

kar	**-ã̃ã**	**-zõ**
do	**-IMPF**	**-M.SG**
    'I was working in Yaseen Mill'

Mankiyali verbs exhibit one of three moods, viz. the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The indicative is unmarked, with the subjunctive and imperative marked. When subjunctive or imperative, verbs are unmarked aspectually; the subjunctive conjugates for present and past, with the latter serving a contrafactual function.

The subjunctive present is formed by through affixing a person concord suffix with the imperfect stem of a verb. The subjunctive past consists of the imperfect stem with the suffix -yõ in all persons. The imperative is formed from the bare imperfect stem for the second person singular (*kar* 'do.IMP.SG'), and the suffix -ya attached to the imperfect stem (*karya* 'do.IMP.PL').

Table 39
Summary of Modal Morphemes

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
SUBJ.PRS	M	-ĩĭ	-ĩĭ	-ɪɪ	-iž	-iṇa	-iṇa
	F	-ĩĭ	-ĩĭ	-ɪɪ	-iž	-iṇa	-iṇa
SUBJ.PST	M	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ
	F	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ	-yõ
IMP	M	—	-Ø	—	—	-ya	—
	F	—	-Ø	—	—	-ya	—

Modal distinctions in Mankiyali are not as salient as in either Lahnda languages or Central Indo-Aryan as evidenced by the relative lack of modal forms in Mankiyali. Example 34 provides both the contrafactual subjunctive past function, and two imperatives.

34. Examples of Mankiyali Modal Distinction

a. *kaaš tom kʰɪyõ*
   kaaš   tom   kʰɪ   -yõ
   wish   2PL.DIR   **eat**   SUBJ.PST
   'I wish you would have eaten'

b. *hɪ pari páál goṛ u*
   hɪ   pari   **páál**   goṛ   -Ø   u
   3SG.DIST.DIR   there   **see.IMP.SG** house   -DIR.M.SG   be.IMPF.PRS.M.SG
   'See, there is a house'

c. *ki pɪɪḍ kʰɪya*
   ki   pɪɪḍ   -Ø   kʰɪ   -ya
   some   food   -DIR   **eat**   -IMP.PL
   'Eat some food.'

5.4 Summary

Mankiyali verbs display both agglutinative and fusional inflectional characteristics, but on the whole trend significantly more fusional than their counterparts in either Lahnda or Central Indo-Aryan languages.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Mankiyali morphology largely follows patterns expected of an Indo-Aryan language, but displays a number of characteristics that are significantly unlike those attested in any immediately neighboring language. In particular, the inflectional morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives is clearly more similar to Kashmiri than to Hindko. This is striking, as the majority language of the nearest municipality is Hindko, a Lahnda language. In contrast, Kashmiri is indigenous to the Vale of Kashmir, with its closest point from Danna over 100 kilometers east, and across the Pir Panjal Range. With migration from the Swat Valley attested in the community's oral history, comparative work focusing on the Indo-Aryan languages of the valley could further provide evidence of the history of the region, as well as provide a foundation for further comparative work within northern South Asia.

Ultimately this thesis is an initial illustration of Mankiyali inflectional morphology, and has demonstrated a number of characteristics that distinguish Mankiyali from known contact languages. Further work should be done to augment this description, especially with regards to description of derivational paradigms. Furthermore, though the data presented almost certainly exclude Mankiyali from classification as a Lahnda language alongside Hindko and Punjabi, it is too early to be able to define the position of Mankiyali within the Indo-Aryan tree. To this end, historical analysis comparing the inflectional patterns of Mankiyali with those of members of other branches of Indo-Aryan would undoubtedly be warranted.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Symbol	IPA		Symbol	IPA	
a	ä~ɐ	Short open central unrounded vowel	u	u	Short close back rounded vowel
aa	aː	Long open central unrounded vowel	uu	uː	Long close back rounded vowel
æ	æ	Short near-open front unrounded vowel	e	e	Short close-mid front unrounded vowel
ææ	æː	Long near-open front unrounded vowel	ee	eː	Long close-mid front unrounded vowel
i	i	Short close front unrounded vowel	o	o	Short close-mid back rounded vowel
ii	iː	Long close front unrounded vowel	oo	oː	Long close-mid back rounded vowel
ɪ	ɪ~ɛ	Short near-close near-front unrounded lax vowel	ɔ	ɔ	Short open-mid back rounded vowel
ɪɪ	ɪː	Long near-close near-front unrounded lax vowel	ɔɔ	ɔː	Long open-mid back rounded vowel
Ṽ	Ṽ	nasal vowel	V́	V́	high tone
r̥	r̥	Syllabic voiced alveolar trill[27]	V̀	V̀	low tone

Symbol	IPA	Description
Velar		
k	/k/	voiceless velar plosive
kʰ	/kʰ/	voiceless aspirated velar plosive
g	/g/	voiced velar plosive
gʰ	/gʱ/	voiced aspirated velar plosive
x	/x/	voiceless velar fricative
ɣ	/ɣ/	voiced velar fricative
ŋ	/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal
(Alveolo-)palatal		
č	/t͡ʃ/	voiceless alveolopalatal affricate
čʰ	/t͡ʃʰ/	voiceless aspirated alveolopalatal affricate
ǰ	/d͡ʒ/	voiced alveolopalatal affricate
ǰʰ	/d͡ʒʱ/	voiced aspirated alveolopalatal affricate
ñ	/ɲ/	voiced palatal nasal
Retroflex		
ṭ	/ʈ/	voiceless retroflex plosive
ṭʰ	/ʈʰ/	voiceless aspirated retroflex plosive
ḍ	/ɖ/	voiced retroflex plosive
ḍʰ	/ɖʱ/	voiced aspirated retroflex plosive

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[27] Only in Sanskrit

ṇ	/ɳ/	voiced retroflex nasal
Dental		
t	/t̪/	voiceless dental plosive
tʰ	/t̪ʰ/	voiceless aspirated dental plosive
d	/d̪/	voiced dental plosive
dʰ	/d̪ʰ/	voiced aspirated dental plosive
c	/t͡s/	voiceless alveolar sibilant affricate
cʰ	/t͡sʰ/	voiceless aspirated alveolar sibilant affricate
n	/n̪/	voiced dental nasal
Labial		
p	/p/	voiceless bilabial plosive
pʰ	/pʰ/	voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive
b	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive
bʰ	/bʰ/	voiced aspirated bilabial plosive
f	/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative
m	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
Approximant		
y	/j/	voiced palatal approximant
r	/ɾ~r/	voiced alveolar tap or flap *or* voiced alveolar trill
ṛ	/ɽ/	voiced retroflex tap or flap
r̥	/r̥/	voiced syllabic alveolar trill
l	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral approximant
ḷ	/ɭ/	voiced retroflex lateral approximant
v	/ʋ/	voiced labiodental approximant

APPENDIX B

MAPS

Figure 8: Map of Pakistan[28]

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[28] The border through the disputed territory of Kashmir is indicated on this map as a solid line along both the Line of Control (LoC) and the western sector of the Line of Actual Control (LAC). This is not and should not be considered a statement on the sovereignty or territorial claims of the Republic of India, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the People's Republic of China, or the Republic of China.
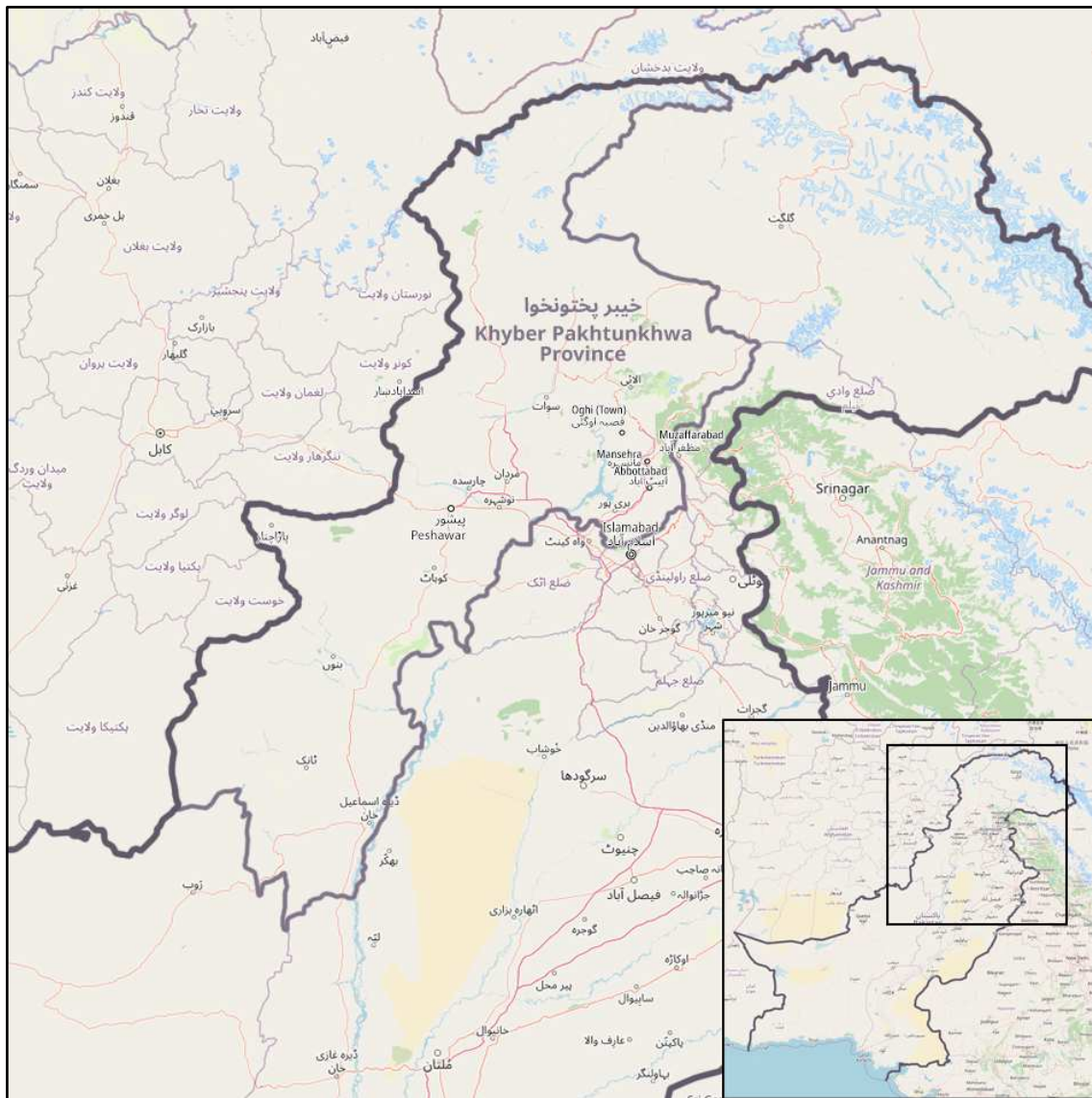
Figure 9: Map of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (KPK) and Environs
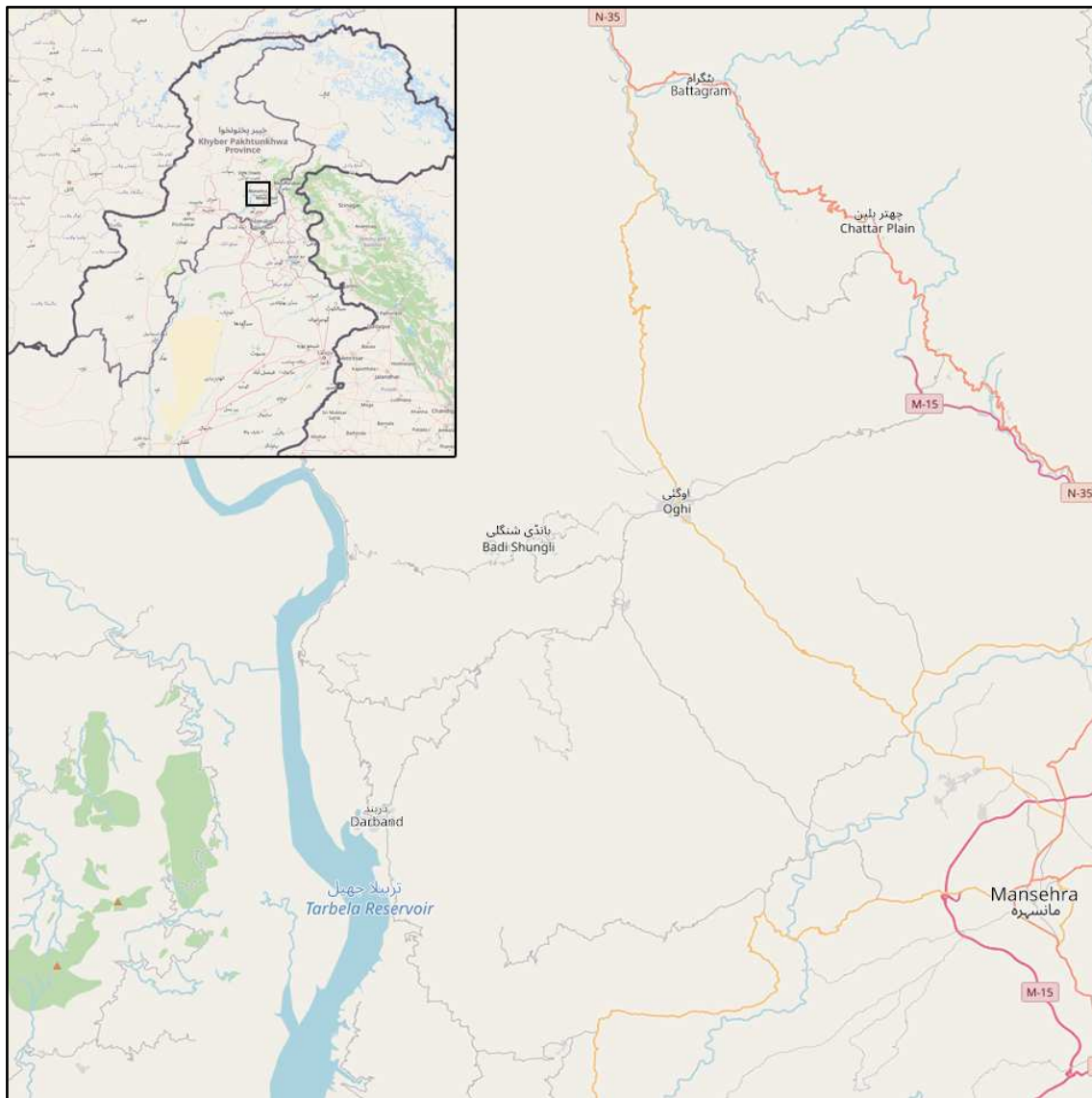
Figure 10: Map of Oghi Tehsil and Environs
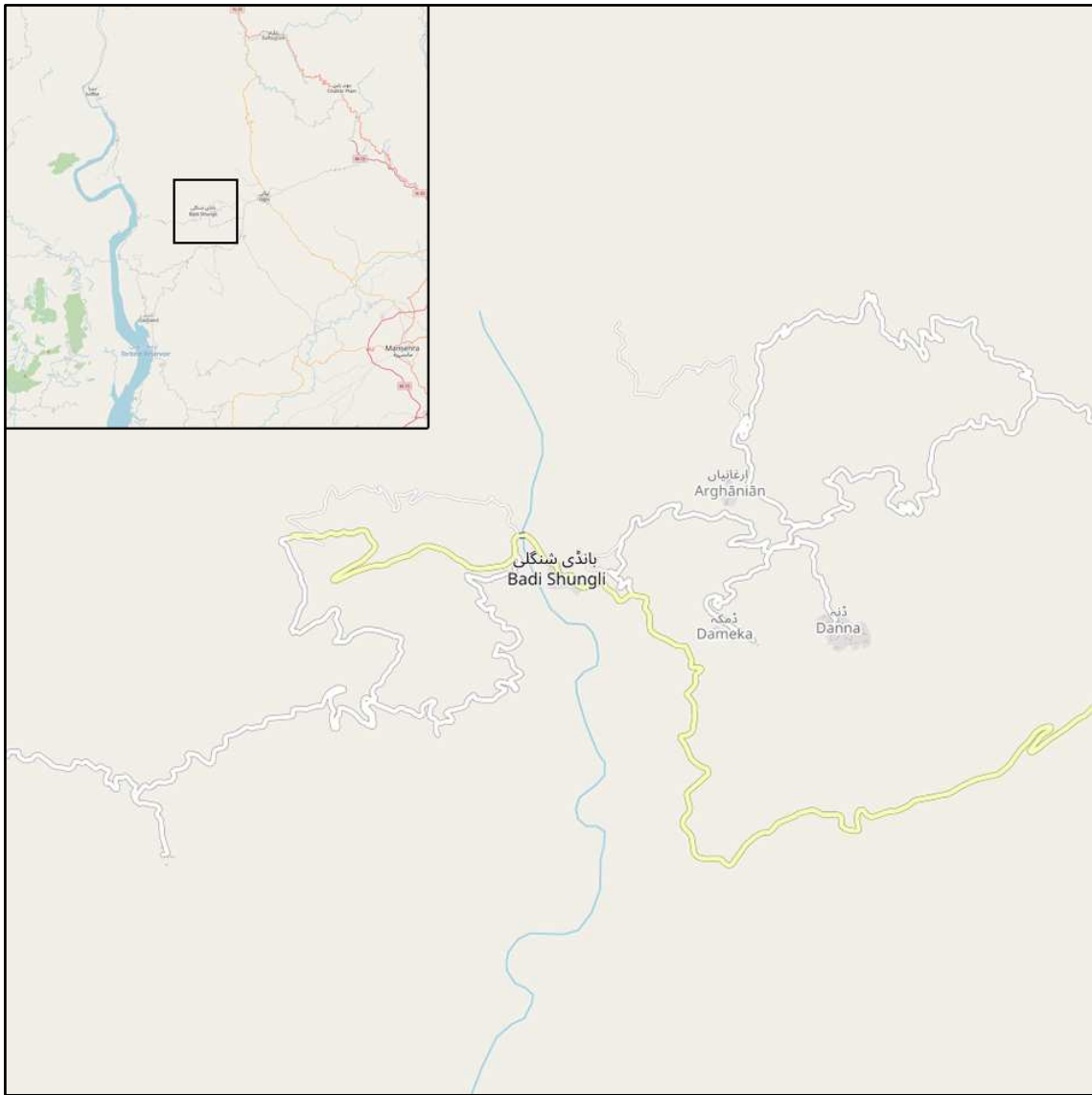
Figure 11: Map of Bandi Shungli Municipality

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